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CHANGING FOREIGN MISSIONS

Changing Foreign Missions

A REVALUATION OF THE CHURCH'S GREATEST ENTERPRISE

By

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FOREWORD

THE writer's interest in the Foreign Mission enterprise is not of recent origin. Parental training, long official connection with the sustaining force at home, responsibility for discussing its principles and methods with successive groups of prospective ministers, and intimate personal relation to the field, were enriched by service during 1924-5 as lecturer on the Joseph Cook Foundation, whose duties are declared to be "the statement and defence of the Christian faith in the principal cities of India, China and Japan." Fulfilment of this appointment gave opportunity for a somewhat wider visit to mission stations, in Syria, Egypt, Siam and Korea. The lectures sought to express "The Christian Conviction," and are published under that title. This present volume is not a description of the journey, but the material then accumulated appears constantly in its chapters.

The volume is born of an assurance that this world aspect of the Christian movement is just now its most demanding and pressing one and that it is at a critical period of its development. It is in no danger of failure, but it may easily be hampered or delayed. Its problems are largely those created by its achievements, but it is always difficult for a movement to accommodate itself to new conditions which it both finds and makes. Attention is here called to what mission leaders know to be commonplaces, but what mission workers and supporters may not realize so keenly.

The book frankly uses "native" or "national" interchangeably, and speaks of "Christian nations" and "non-Christian nations," and of "mission lands" and "sending countries," because any sensible person knows what the terms mean. They carry no obloquy nor praise, and they apply only so far as they are true. The writer feels no response to the suggestion that the words "missions" and "missionaries" should be dropped. They are good English words with a good Latin background, and they are used by intelligent people intelligently. Such people are prevailingly the workers in this field.

C. B. M.

Chicago.

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I

AN ENTERPRISE UNDER FIRE

THE Christian enterprise, of which foreign missions is one section, is the largest single movement consciously carried on today within the human race. It is largest in the number of points of the earth which it touches, in the number of lives involved, in the breadth of interests covered, in the demands it makes on life, time and money. The aim of the enterprise is to make Jesus Christ known to all men and to bring His purpose into operation throughout the whole world. Its local aspect is accepted without question by those who accept Christ as Master. The distinctively national or home mission aspect meets with little serious opposition from Christian believers. But the foreign aspect, by which the enterprise is carried around the world without regard to geography, race, language or social condition, is always having to win its way.

I

In any considerable Christian group there are always three attitudes discoverable.

a. Some accept foreign missions, along with the whole Christian program, as a matter of course. They find no limit set within the will of Christ nor in the needs of men nor in the service which the knowledge of Christ will render to men. They argue that "any reason that is valid for carrying the knowledge of

Christ across the street is valid for carrying it across the sea." Their advocacy may be rational or merely sentimental; it may have good grounds or poor; it may be intelligent or traditional; but foreign missions has passed for them beyond the stage of discussion.

b. A second group of acknowledged Christian believers are frankly opposed to foreign missions. They have all sorts of reasons, ignorant or intelligent, childish or thoughtful; but they will not take any active or earnest part in the enterprise because they doubt its validity or obligation or practicability. Two prevailing lines of opposition were well expressed in conversations I had with fellow-passengers on a steamer approaching India. One friend opposed foreign missions because the non-Christian world does not need Christianity; it is well supplied already with religion; its culture is adequate for the desires of its own people; missions involve a sense of superiority of the West over the East which is pure fiction; Christians have nothing new to give the non-Christian world which that world really needs. It is rather a disturbance than a reconstruction of life. The other friend opposed foreign missions because the non-Christian world is impossible to reach with the benefits of Christianity. It is incapable of appreciating Christian values; work has been going on for years and nothing has resulted; converts are only pretenses; missions is a waste of time and effort because the non-Christian people are too ignorant and superstitious to be reached.

Now, obviously, both of my friends of the Mediterranean can hardly be right. The people of non-Christian lands cannot be at the same time too good to need Christ and too bad to make it worth while to present Him. Yet one of those conclusions is certain

to be reached by opponents of the missionary movement. Either way, the enterprise is a waste of time and effort.

But, in addition to the field end of it, there is the reiterated assurance of need at the sending end of the line. Why send missionaries out of Christendom when things are as they are here? When I accepted appointment as Joseph Cook lecturer in India, China and Japan, one of my friends wrote me to say that while he would be glad to see so much of the world, he would not undertake the task himself and wondered what I would say as an American Christian to any non-Christian audience in the lurid light of a world war for which "Christian nations" alone were responsible, and in the more lurid glare of western social, industrial, political and international evils. He suggested that we ought to clean up our own back yard before we laid out any landscape gardening for our neighbours. Here the conclusion is that non-Christian people may be better or worse than we are, but we have no right to sit in propagandist judgment on them. Something about this sounds familiar; perhaps it is its resemblance to an old phrase: "Physician, heal thyself." At any rate, believers in missions must take account of the argument.

c. A third attitude among Christians is a wavering one, sometimes seeing the missionary movement favorably, sometimes unfavorably. Those who take this attitude are apt to be baffled by reports of disturbances in China or Persia or Mexico. They hear with distress the word of tourists who have "done" the world that they could find no evidence of any real success of missions and had heard a great deal adverse to it from those who live or work in the Orient. Under

the spell of a powerful missionary address their interest makes rapid growth, but when the sun of sneers or criticisms has arisen the new plant withers away. For them foreign missions is always an open question. When a national of a mission land criticizes conditions in Christian lands, they cannot stop with agreeing that the conditions deserve criticism but feel that they ought to estop efforts to spread the Christian faith. They consider that "the gospel is at stake," and "Christianity is under trial." A disturbance or a disorder becomes a "debacle." In short, when work goes well they are for it; when it goes ill, they vote on the other side. It is all perfectly honest and sincere, but it indicates constant debate regarding what both the other groups count settled, one favourably, the other adversely.

The relative size of these three groups cannot be known. A speaker at a recent British conference said that the missionary enterprise is supported in England by about thirty per cent of Church people, and that the percentage had risen to that figure from twenty per cent since the war. The more sanguine observers in the United States are apt to place this figure at forty per cent, the less sanguine scaling it down to any point as low as ten per cent. The downright opposers are probably the smallest group within the Church, partly because the missionary enterprise is taken for granted so largely in the pulpit and its sermons that it is felt to be a little off-colour to oppose it, and partly because the non-Christian group outside the Church universally disapprove it and that makes Christians a little hesitant. There is an unescapable feeling that it does not do for a Christian to agree too closely with non-Christians in matters turning on the will of Christ.

The wavering group, for missions or against it according to conditions, are naturally incalculable. They vary with the state of missionary weather. Probably this is the most uncomfortable and disturbed group in the Church when the subject of missions is up for discussion.

II

To one who has read the history of missionary discussion it seems that few really new arguments one way or the other have appeared in the century and a half of modern missions. Early objections are still sometimes presented as new discoveries. Early arguments for world-wide missions are sometimes urged as though they had just emerged "in the light of the war," or "in this new day." Rapid changes in social life and in international relations have thrown certain arguments and difficulties into sharper outline, but it is hardly to be expected that an enterprise which has been always debated and always carried on against opposition could be coming into its real light now for the first time. Even the enlarged program of social service in non-Christian lands proves to be a fulfilment of hopes which were expressed by early leaders.[1]

Certainly the present movement for local or nationalist leadership is only what all the veterans around the world spoke of as part of their earliest hopes. A "self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating Church" in each land was the phrase of the younger Henry Venn who was born just three years after Carey reached India and died more than fifty years ago. Even the brilliant thesis of Stanley Jones' "Christ of the Indian Road," which calls us to give Christ rather than West-

[1] Speer, *The Church and Missions*, Ch. III.

ern civilization or Western Christianity to the East, is a modern expression of the plea of Washburn of Constantinople that the whole purpose of Christian missions is "to make Jesus Christ known to the world," not the ideas about Him which are peculiar to ourselves and not our peculiar western civilization. Dr. Washburn went to Turkey in 1860. The adverse argument based on Christian divisions at home appears in virtually all the literature of the century bearing on the subject. Indeed, one runs across nothing strictly new on either side.

Yet such speaking must not give the impression that there are not new aspects of the arguments which deserve earnest attention. This is a changing enterprise. It has not been kept harmonious with these advanced expressions. A visitor is often disturbed to find outworn distinctions operating on the mission field, conditions that give rise to natural criticism. He finds opposition to the social movement as something extraneous to missionary, if not even to Christian, concern. He sees with anxiety the difference between professed zeal for native leadership and real provision for it. He observes the scaling of institutions and programs far beyond the ability of national Christians, alongside the plea that they assume their support before they claim self-government. He cannot help seeing the wide distinction between average missionary living and average native living and the poorly solved problem of bridging that chasm with the forces of love and sympathy.

The missionary enterprise may be much changed in actual practice; the point here urged is that in theory it has been well worked out during a century and a half. In our conference in Syria, when the matter of

church unity came up, a Syrian pastor said eloquently that "all we need is to be willing to be what we are—one in Christ." That says it admirably. The missionary enterprise needs only to be what it actually is; that is, it needs to be in practice what almost everybody in it believes it really is when he faces the real issues. Seldom does one find an enterprise where the theory is so steadily defensible, even though the practice is open to criticism. Happily, its severest critics are missionaries themselves. Also, they are the ones who are working hardest to correct the things they criticize.

III

There seem to be four unavoidable conditions of the missionary enterprise that will keep it under fire as long as the world is as it is. One authority has said that "a church that is only demi-converted is never going to be victorious." And a world that is not yet Christian is never going to be enthusiastic about the program of Christ.

1. For one thing, foreign missions is the most Christian aspect of the Christian program. There is little to say for it except on the most definite Christian lines. All remnants of selfishness or worldliness in one's nature will stand against it. All self-seeking in the work itself spoils it. Arguments which rest on self-interest or self-protection always fail of their purpose. Their effect is temporary or injurious. Saying that America must Christianize the East or the East will paganize America leaves Christian hearers cold. Telling business men that they ought to support foreign missions because it is good for commerce and creates desires which foreign goods alone can gratify,

has helped to put the whole enterprise on the bad basis on which it rests in many Oriental minds. It is poor argument. The facts may be as urged, but they will never make supporters of the real enterprise of making Christ known to the world. Indeed, as soon as self-seeking or self-advancing argument enters the door, real missionary spirit flies out at the window.

There may be a measure of argument for national missions or for local missions based on personal and selfish advantage or safety. Even there it is poor argument and cheapens the whole movement. To educate men in our own state because they may cut our throats if they remain ignorant is hardly even refined selfishness; it is too raw for the adjective. Giving the Gospel of Christ to the East because otherwise the East will develop a huge army and destroy the West is to take counsel of human selfishness rather than of divine love. Christ did not come to earth lest perhaps the sin of the world would wreck His own home.

Of course some of the books count unselfishness chimerical; so do some men. A Japanese official in Chosen talked to me at length about the marked change of attitude of officials like himself toward the missionaries in that country. He said that when Japan first took control it found the missionaries a strangely forceful influence in Chosen. They said their motives were entirely unselfish and that they sought nothing either for themselves or for their western nations. "But this," said the official, "was hardly credible to us. We have no provision for this kind of living in our scheme of things. We could not see what was their real reason. So we were suspicious. But these years have led us to see that what they claimed is real, and our suspicions are allayed." He would not suggest

that everything is all that it might be even in the present relation, but he would be glad to have me use his word in argument for the unselfish nature of the missionary enterprise. It is essentially a matter of sacrifice. And since that is the deepest thing in Christianity, it is the last thing apprehended by believers and the thing most certainly missed by unbelievers.

When I asked a member in a lethargic American church what was the great objection to missions in his group, he replied with perfect naturalness: "Our biggest obstacle is the church's coal bill." In England a similar inquiry led to the remark that "the steeple and the organ are a constant hindrance to missions." Now, there is no conflict between the coal bill and foreign missions except that one lies so near one's own comfort and the other lies so far away from any personal concern. Coal bills and steeples and organs have their place in Christian worship and thought, but we do not strike down to the roots of the Christian principle of life until we get below them and come to the level where foreign missions is a natural program. It is there that Christianity is most definitely Christian, there that its program bears most unmistakably the mark of the cross. This life-mark of Christianity is the death-mark of selfishness.

A missionary in India told me of his conversation with a friend before leaving home.

"Why should a man give to foreign missions?" he asked his friend.

The reply was, "Hanged if I know!"

"No," said the missionary recruit, "not hanged; crucified—that is how Christ knew!"

Why should people give millions of dollars for a work which they never see and which yields nothing

in kind to them? Why should parents give sons and daughters, and why should these sons and daughters give themselves, for life, to people so remote from their immediate concern as those of the non-Christian lands? After all is said of the rich rewards in other coin and the enlargement of life that come with missionary interest, the only secure thing to say is that this giving and dedication are on the same ground that brought Christ here in the first place—it is the way to show love, to forget self, to be of the same heart as Christ.

2. A second inevitable fact that opposes foreign missions is that it requires acceptance of a larger round of conviction than any other part of the Christian program. Any doubt of essential Christian truth is sure to issue in doubt of the missionary enterprise. Indeed, the seriousness of any doubt may be tested by the effect it has on desire to propagate the faith. In a later chapter (VI) we shall have occasion to consider the divergences of religious opinion in the missionary force, but it is enough here to say that any faith which sends a man out to the mission field for a lifetime of self-forgetting service is not fatally different from that which sends another man out on the same errand.

There are undoubtedly difficult elements in Christianity, no matter how simply one takes it. When it is suggested that if we give Christ to the world men will be glad to follow Him, while they will reject our " man-made creeds " and other devices, we must remember that there was no great movement to accept Christ when He was on earth. There were difficulties even then. There is no way of making Him or His program of life so easy that it will attract everybody and at the same time be worth the while of thoughtful men.

There are attractive, easy parts of it and these can be taken for granted, but they do not constitute the core of the faith.

I asked a British official in India what he thought of the missionaries. He replied that he recognized their fine character and purpose, but added, "I am frankly not interested in their main line; it is their side lines that I like." He wanted the Indian people taught to read and write, wanted hospitals, better agriculture, better stock and grain, but he was not interested in presenting Christ as a personal Saviour and Master nor the Christian religion as a law of life. Yet it is precisely the main line of missions that carries the side lines along.

A Chinese gentleman at Canton explained that there is no objection to Christianity as an agent of uplift in physical, intellectual and social lines, but when it came to religion, he did not care so much for it. When I pressed for his meaning, he laid his finger straight on the central things of the faith—the personal God, incarnation, revelation, atonement, sacrifice, eternity—and thought such ideas ought to be omitted from the program. I pointed out that there are many in America and England who entirely agree with him, but that they somehow lacked the driving impulse to come to China and furnish the uplift which he and they welcome.

Missionaries and mission supporters differ widely about all the items mentioned, but it is still an essentially religious purpose that takes them into the enterprise and keeps them in it. Notice that latter point: something has to keep a man in the enterprise. Many motives can take him into it for a time, but very few men remain in an unselfish, demanding service such as

missions without an ultimate religious motive. No one could have the slightest objection to a movement of irreligious or indifferent men to carry the good of modern learning and progress to other lands at their own charges and in a spirit of self-sacrifice, but where is the movement?

It is just at the points where Christianity is most difficult that foreign missions makes its demands. Is there one God of whom all men need to know? Is the human race one, underneath all its differences and estrangements? Do men need Christ as Saviour? Is Christ such an one as can be presented everywhere and is He worth presenting everywhere? Can men anywhere be saved? Can society be renovated? Can superstitions be overcome? Is the Holy Spirit a living, effective power in the world? Is there one Book better worth having in religion than any other book? Somewhere in that short list, not thought of as complete, there will be negative answers enough to explain most opposition or indifference to missions. Doubt and denial will inevitably weaken devotion to such an enterprise.

3. A third inevitable obstacle to missionary interest is the two-sided nature of Christianity—its service for this world and for eternity, its social and its personal implications. So long as we think of religion as fitting men for eternity alone, there is no force in the adverse argument based on present social evils. Perhaps religion is meant to save men out of such a world anyway. Existence of the evils will be all the more argument for religion. But as soon as we accept this other side of religion, we make the evils which are not yet corrected an argument against its power. Either it has not corrected them, in which case it is indifferent, or

else it cannot correct them, in which case it is impotent. I heard of a speaker in India who explained the evils of Christendom by saying that Christianity had not yet been really tried there. Immediately a young Hindu said, "Does it not seem to you, sir, that Christianity has been long enough in the world to have been tried?" As a speaker in several lands, I met this objection frequently. What about the evils of the social order in Christian lands? I heard much less about the war than I expected to hear, but plenty about race prejudice, international unfairness, oppression of labour, unequal distribution of profits.

For my own part, I said with entire candour everywhere that we all felt the force of the inquiry. But, after all, this social aspect is only one aspect of religion; the eternal and personal aspect is quite as important. It is no small thing to do well either of these pieces of work. There can be no doubt of the power of Christianity to support men in presence of the evils of the world in which they have to live. If it made them indifferent to the evils, that would be against it; but I asked where in all the world are more lines and forces of protest and opposition to social evils than in Christian lands. I reminded inquirers that a personal religion like Christianity is to be sharply distinguished from its individual adherents, as is true of any religion in some degree; and that Christians and their social systems are most severely judged by their own faith. They admit their faults. They have failed their faith. If anything could prevent their trying to present to the non-Christian world their own achievements it would be the defects which thus far they have not corrected but which they are earnestly seeking to correct. I argued that with Christians the social im-

plications of their faith had come into view much later than might have been expected because the social system under which they live had become vastly more intricate and demanding than before, as the whole world has also become. Nothing had been added to the faith in order to make it a social force; this aspect had needed only to be discovered and frankly recognized.

Argument here was made difficult in some places because of the position taken by occasional missionaries or small missionary groups, abandoning the world as hopeless and unsalvable except by catastrophe. Their accent on the other aspect of the Christian purpose—to sustain in unavoidable evils and finally to redeem completely from the world—was not erroneous so much as partial, and I gladly said so. The rank and file of the missionary force were constantly adding the other aspect, however, and it was pleasant to co-operate with them in it.

Still, if Christianity carries responsibility for social evils in territory already covered, failures here will make some observers question the wisdom of proposing it to people of other lands and orders. The question is bound to arise whether other social orders will yield to it and whether its fundamental principles of human relationship are universally applicable. So soon as Christianity becomes a social factor, as it surely must be, its problems and difficulties are multiplied. That is one reason why some of its adherents reject the whole idea of a social program. They consider that it lays an impossible burden on the faith; they note how little progress the world has made in social lines, showing how " evil men and seducers wax worse and worse " and also more abundant.

A French writer, M. Pouget, in his *Sabotage,* says: "It is useless to nurse any illusions: the day when it would be tried to introduce into social relations, in all their strata, a strict honesty and a scrupulous good will, nothing would remain standing—neither industry, nor commerce, nor finance—absolutely nothing." Well, some would not object if that were true, but some would see in it the very best reason for refusing to introduce these plain Christian principles. If Christianity is a way of going to heaven, that is one thing. But if it is a way of organizing human life and maintaining human relationships, that is a very different thing, and a much more complicated thing. If foreign missions is out on any errand like that, some men would want to think several times before endorsing it. They will say: Do it at home first; or else: Why bother with other people's social condition?

Such a difficulty must be faced in perfect frankness. Christianity is at all untried points a tremendous venture. Nobody knows exactly what would happen if it were fully and forcefully tried in any hitherto untried conditions. Many of us are confident of the beneficent result of its use anywhere, but if anybody has a question about that, or if he feels that adventures are not suitable, then foreign missions will be on the doubtful side for him. Supporters sometimes assume that accenting the social aspect of missions is all to the good. The fact is that it introduces grave complications both on the field and among supporters at the sustaining end of the line.

A veteran in Egypt illustrated it with a saying that whereas a bishop says, "You will be damned," and a judge says, "You will be hanged," you cannot be sure whether what the bishop says is coming true or not, but

you soon find out that what the judge says does come true. The finely spiritual offers of Christianity may not be matters of obvious experience, but its program of social change comes above the horizon immediately. A religion that means to change not only the man but the surroundings in which he lives increases its points of dispute immeasurably.

A further fact needs constant observation; namely, that Christianity has no independent social program apart from changed people and the new desires and spirit they receive in the change. A new social order cannot be imposed from without. American Christians do not know whether or not their customs and social procedure are good for the Siamese—that is for the Siamese to say. The same religion may result in very different social conditions in Africa and America, in England and Japan. In one sense, and that not the only one, social changes are by-products and take the form of the condition in which they occur. In this sense, it is no central part of the Christian missionary enterprise to secure social results, for its advocates do not know what those results ought to be—except in the broad fields of enriched and enlarged personalities.

Missionaries cannot, generally they do not attempt to, determine how the religion they teach will affect this or that custom or condition. As intelligent people they cannot pretend indifference or lack of opinion, but they cannot be dogmatic that this change and this only shall result. Indeed, it was common to hear missionaries in all lands bewailing some changes in customs which were being introduced by their Christian brethren in the national groups. If missionaries had had their own way, they would not have been made. Yet changes are inevitable. No new idea can leave its en-

vironment unchanged, since it is ideas that make environment. Least of all will this be true in the field of religion. So long as foreign missions carries with it a social as well as an eternal significance, it will be opposed by some observers.

4. The fourth inevitable obstacle to foreign mission interest is the magnitude of the work.

a. To some observers it is an impossible task when its proposals are considered. One religion for the whole world? they exclaim; it cannot be done; whoever suggests it does not know the world. As these lines are written a letter comes from a young missionary in India to whom a tourist, fresh from Benares and its passionate Hinduism, proclaims that Christianity has no chance in India; "one needs only to look around to see that." Indeed, one needs only to look at a world map in order to see how impossible is the scheme of world missions. There has never been a religion which commanded the allegiance of a majority of the people of the world. More people now profess Christianity than any other one faith, yet even so it can claim on the widest basis only six hundred of the sixteen hundred millions of the world. One can travel through great areas of the earth's surface and not be near a worker in this enterprise.[2] Scattered masses impress some; congested crowds impress others. The Danish ship captain on the Yangtse said to me as he swung his hand around to indicate the crowded deck and the large land population through which we were passing: "That shows what missionaries have cut out for them; they can't do it."

A missionary in Africa told of a dark hour when he

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[2] *The Unfinished Task of Foreign Missions,* Robert E. Speer.

stood alone in a forest, sensing the large numbers of people utterly remote from any Christian influence, and said to himself, "And Christ wants all these. I wonder if He can get them!" That makes a dark hour for a believer in the enterprise; it makes an impossible hour for a doubter. It is easy to say, "Into all the world," but meaning it, or doing it, is a very different thing. Careless people say that the world is growing smaller. Not for the missionary enterprise. The world grows larger all the while, for the concern of that enterprise is with the people in the world and our contacts with them and their own numbers rapidly increase.

b. To other observers the missionary enterprise is an impossible task when its present dimensions are considered. One tourist comes home without being able to discover foreign missions; another returns impressed with the enormous enterprise that is under way, and wondering how long it can be carried and how long the necessary re-enforcements can be secured. Here are 29,000 foreigners in it and about $70,000,000 of foreign money going into it annually. What a use of life and money! Once it was the scheme of a group of consecrated cobblers and dreamers; now it is an enormous business with incredible burdens; always wanting and thus far receiving larger grants of money and increasing numbers of choice lives. How long can, and how long ought, this to go on?

These two phases of the magnitude of the work crystallize in two expressions of recent magazine articles: "the pitiable attempt," and "the squandering of millions of dollars and wasting of thousands of lives." Of course there is warrant in fact for both the positions. The task is enormous and in comparison

with it the staff is "pitiably" small; also, the projecting of the program is already on a tremendous scale in the abstract and it grows small only when the proposed task is placed beside it.

Many who raise the objections fail to realize what the program itself is. A visitor to Bombay within three years figured out with paper and pencil how many missionaries it would take to "convert the millions of India," and proved the number to be impossible. The whole calculation was not worth the paper on which he worked it out. No one who is half-way intelligent about the missionary enterprise supposes for a moment that the missionaries in any land are to see the main task through. The "missionary enterprise" fades away inevitably into the "Christian movement," conducted and executed by the people of the land.

One of the inspiring discoveries of a tour of mission fields is the number of nationals who are the equals and superiors of western leaders who have helped start the enterprise, and one of the most serious labours of the field is the securing and releasing of a more adequate force of this sort. It is such a commonplace of missionary thinking that it is hard to realize that anybody does not know it. There is no occasion for measuring the missionary force against the whole task of Christianizing a land. It should be measured against nothing but the missionary aspect of the total task. Even so the work is enormous and no one is apt to favour it unless he likes great adventures and believes in God. The prospects are always as bright as His promises, and nothing small would be worth while in obedience to Him.

II

SOME INHERENT DIFFICULTIES OF THE ENTERPRISE

BY all accounts the missionary phase of the Christian movement is difficult. In very young minds it often appears in romantic light; romance never fades entirely from it for some. But its romantic aspects seldom persist in presence of the grind of the work itself. Of course, it is an adventure of faith, both on the part of missionaries and of those more numerous nationals who take part in the missionary phase before it becomes freely and independently the Christian movement of the nation. As an adventure it must always have its problems.

I

The difficulties fall into two groups. Some are incidental and avoidable. As racial and geographical relationships develop they tend to lessen or disappear. On the missionary side, travel, distance, separation from friends, entry into an uncongenial and unfamiliar environment, were serious matters at first. On the other side, the strangeness of the missionaries and their odd customs made it difficult for the people of mission lands to consider their religion seriously. Such difficulties tend to pass away.

Travel becomes increasingly comfortable. In Siam we travelled with a missionary group from Bangkok to Chiengmai in twenty-six hours on a good railroad with

diner and sleeper. With us was a long-time friend who had made the same journey when she first arrived in Siam in 103 days by the earlier methods. In many lands highways are being built and automobile service is available. It is startling to find oneself whisked across the country in central China in an automobile over a very good road from one city to another. There are many places where it cannot be done; but there are some where it is done. India is criss-crossed with railroads, on many of which good trains can be had, though some are not so good. There are excellent boats on the Yangtse River. Such travel is not yet available for all places. Many mission stations are still remote and travel to them is difficult, while the sense of isolation from fellow-workers is only gradually being allayed by the emergence of a Christian group through which companionship is restored.

The hardship of separation from children during the educational period, which is one of the severest trials of missionary life, is lessened in part by the development at many centres of schools for foreign children where they can be prepared for home colleges. College entrance examinations can be taken in a number of places in mission lands. Education developed under missionary guidance is directed toward the needs of the lands where the work is done, rather than according to some abstract program suited to anybody. This is one reason why it is not possible to prepare western children for college in the mission schools.

Living conditions tend to grow much more normal. Sharp contrasts between prevailing living and missionary living naturally lessen, through improvement on the one side and understanding on the other. One of the first effects of accepting Christianity is the improv-

ing of living conditions for the converts. In most mission lands the distance between the poorest and the best living conditions among the people is quite as great as anywhere in America or England. Some of the richest men in the world are in India; there is much wealth in Siam, in Japan, in China. This exists alongside the direst poverty, for the maldistribution of wealth is generally worse in mission lands than in the West.

In the earliest days of missions, provision was made in missionary houses for twelve months of residence, but the summer outing habit has grown in all lands and numerous summer colonies have developed. In this movement missionaries have been no more than leaders, where they have been even that. Foreigners opened the attractive resort at Karuizawa in Japan, but the summer Japanese population is now the principal one. Hill resorts in India and seashore places in China have their large percentage of Indian and Chinese summer residents. One result has been the simplifying of residences for the other months. New missionary residences in India, for example, are smaller and simpler than the earlier ones and the early objection that missionaries lived palatially is weakened. It was never true; in isolated cases it looked so to those who did not know the conditions surrounding transplanted lives in a trying climate.

A traveller, praising the achievements of missionaries, speaks of them as "miserably underpaid." All of us understand what he meant, but the fact is that missionaries are not "paid" at all. They are merely supported while they do their work. Their salaries are postulated on a reasonable and comfortable living and not on recompense for service rendered. Compar-

ing them with government or business agents who are making money or protecting financial interests is natural, but one cannot be long in the midst of them without discovering that they are on different bases. The comparison would be like that between the salaries of a bank president and a minister in America: one is compensation, the other is support. Salaries of missionaries have advanced in later years, slowly and insufficiently in many cases, but keeping within some range of reasonable and comfortable living in the place where the work is done. In this detail missionaries merely take their places with all other workers in the field of religious and social service around the world. They are not recompensed anywhere; they are merely supported.

The difficulties of early believers in mission lands tend to lessen as Christian customs and principles become familiar and as missionaries come to know and understand the customs of the land. Probably a missionary in the centre of China would be no more an object of curiosity than a natively dressed Chinese would be in the heart of America or England. Each would be regarded with some measure of amusement and suspicion and even of fear among the simple minded. Any message such a visitor might bring would be commended to some of the people by his strangeness and would be impeded for others by the same condition. As the strangeness wore away, and as the stranger himself became more accustomed to the new conditions, his message would both gain and lose in acceptance. This has been the history of missionary work in Africa in marked degree. But in all lands there has been a tang of foreignness about Christianity which cannot be removed except by the integrating

of the foreign messengers into the life of the land and by the increase of nationals who accept the faith on their own account.

One's sympathy is with the new believers at this point, for they are in the midst of a population with strong racial consciousness which seems violated by the introduction of anything that looks so foreign as this new faith. On the other hand, it is unavoidable that a new missionary should be arrested by practices or conditions that contrast sharply with his own, practices which he later understands in more favourable terms. Gradually these divergent streams tend to flow together in mutual understanding and appreciation—a phenomenon which can be observed widely on the mission field.

Such incidental and avoidable difficulties are often deeply troublesome, but they tend to disappear with the progress of the work.

II

There are, however, inevitable, inherent, unavoidable difficulties which will continue as long as it is a really missionary enterprise—a sending and going movement. The problem here is not their removing, for they cannot be removed, but carrying on the enterprise in spite of them, turning them to advantage if possible. This can be done because the power of the enterprise is from God, and He is pledged to see His people through any impossible things in His will. Besides, the enterprise commands large ability among its leaders on both sides of the sea.

1. The presence of existing religions will always create difficulty. The Christian religion must necessarily seem a substitute for the forms which it finds in other lands. Yet these forms are deeply grained into

the life of the people, are dear to many of them, are part of the mental and social furnishing of the land, and are taken as matter of course by their adherents. There will always be some nationals to whom the prevailing faith is no more forceful than Christianity is to some Americans and Britons; to many of the others the preaching of another faith is unwelcome and impertinent. Some attitude must be taken toward the existing faith. It need not be attacked, but it cannot be accepted. If the missionary praises it, then the question arises why he should introduce anything else; if he says it is not sufficient, it is necessary that he say why not, and then he is supposed to be attacking it. Tourists and stay-at-homes can be very glib about this problem: "We must recognize the good in all religions," "we must make no attacks on any other faith," "we must merely present our religion for consideration." This is all familiar to missionaries, but it is merely the beginning of their problem. If they could start with a religiously vacant world, letting Christianity be presented as a new thing, it might be easier, but that is impossible.

Some opponents of the enterprise count it impertinent to carry another religion to people who already have one. If this were valid argument, it would have prevented the coming of Christ in the first place. The world into which He came had religion everywhere, a religion which satisfied some of the people at least, so that His coming was counted an impertinence and the new religion an intrusion. To hear the arguments of some opponents of missionary work today in China, in view of the disturbance that has ensued, one would suppose that the Jews had welcomed Christ with enthusiasm, and that the Roman Empire had opened its

arms at once to Paul and the new religion. The fact is, that Christianity has always had to make its way against opposition. It has been introduced into an already occupied field. The previous occupants have not welcomed it. If that had been an accepted signal for its withdrawal, it would not have started in the first place, and would have died at any one of many crises afterward.

This is no excuse for unnecessary antagonisms nor for unsympathetic attitudes toward existing religions and their customs. But no conditions could warrant Christian advocates in pretending to approve some of the religious practices which they find, nor in assuming that they really have nothing to give that is better than they find. If that is true, why should they be there? All that can be done is to reduce this difficulty as far as possible by a fine spirit; it cannot be altogether removed, so long as the missionary elements remain.

2. In the nature of the case the foreign workers must be chosen after they have reached maturity in their own lands, with physical life already organized, and with social customs and religious attitudes determined. With this definite equipment these workers must appear in new surroundings, in the midst of an alien culture, to face serious problems of adaptation, a new language and new points of view. The life work must be begun in a limited range of years. Young people under twenty-five are seldom prepared to take responsibilities independently, nor are trained sufficiently, while people over thirty-two have generally hardened somewhat in their adaptability and language powers; so that the rank and file must be found within that short term.

But this very fact introduces serious problems.

Health conditions become difficult. It is sometimes said that missionaries ought to be able to live in such-and-such places, if natives can do so. But native peoples are born there and form their physical habits there; missionaries come into the new conditions with developed bodies and habits. Moreover, life in such places is precarious even for natives, as infant and youthful mortality shows.

A Siamese physician expounded to me a theory that the white skin of the West and North is not so well adapted to semi-tropical climates as darker skin. But experience with negro missionaries from America in some parts of Africa makes the thesis insufficient; their mortality was as high as that of white workers. In addition, there is demand for social adaptation in maturity, both to fellow-workers and to native brethren. A missionary is supposed to have some convictions of his own before he goes to the field; it is useless to suggest that he shall surrender them all when he crosses the ocean. It will always be impossible to protect the enterprise from the difficulties involved in this phase of its leadership.

3. Missionary work is done in a strange language acquired in maturity. There are limitations on the thoroughness of the result, limitations which are gravely increased by the language itself. Here is a whole new set of ideas to be put into a speech which has no terms for them. I asked an official of one of the lands where I was lecturing how it happened that the language had no words for some familiar Christian ideas, such as "personality," "bretherhood," "spiritual."

He replied, "We never have had the ideas; why should we have the words?" There is a sizable book

available in China, called "New Terms for New Ideas," resulting from the use of unfamiliar ideas in science, religion, and philosophy. When one remembers how an English dictionary grows in a decade with the natural increment of terms, it is not surprising that the sudden introduction of western ideas into ancient and yet living languages should require this adjustment.

Comparatively few men ever acquire in maturity a language in which they can express whatever they wish. Ordinarily they are reduced to saying what they are able to say rather than being free to say what they would like to say. Many an American can pass the time of day in French or utter thanks for courtesies, who would find it impossible to discuss in the French tongue the points of difference between French and American democracy. He thinks on one level and is compelled to talk on another. Many missionaries are compelled to express Christianity as they are able to express it rather than as they would like to express it.

When I made a plea in a language school in China for thorough mastery of the language because otherwise Christianity might be mis-stated, an experienced missionary added that this very thing underlay much of the religious controversy which occasionally appears there. Native Chinese hear terms used as they understand them, while the missionary meaning might be quite different. It was as near as the missionary could get to what he meant. New Testament students know the difficulty of saying in English even by a circumlocution exactly what the Greek terms suggest. Stories of the long search of earnest missionaries for a word to express a familiar Christian idea are current in all lands. There is a sharp, sometimes acrimonious,

discussion in China still over a word to be used for "God."

A missionary in Africa looked for a long time for some word that meant "trust," and found it when a boy said he would not want to "trust" himself to a rickety ladder on which a missionary was about to climb. The word was taken over into Christian use, but it is obvious that if it were limited to the way the native expressed it, there is a vast range of Christian meaning which it does not reach. That is true of all these words which are suddenly discovered. They cramp the idea, as words so often do. But presently the idea shrinks to the word. This limitation will continue so long as the enterprise retains its missionary character and has not yet become so indigenous that it makes its own terms. The difficulty even carries over into the new situation because the terms have become sacred and alterations are impious.

English people can recall the protest when the Revised Version used the words "Holy Spirit" instead of "Holy Ghost" and "Hades" instead of "hell," and "judgment" instead of "damnation"—each of them expressing what the other originally meant better than its present form expresses it. But multitudes in England and America were offended because it was "toning down the truth" or "a betrayal of the faith."

As a lecturer, I owe a heavy debt to more than fifty foreign and native brethren who took my English and turned it into intelligible speech for audiences. No one who has witnessed this service can fail to marvel at its success. I observed that when a foreigner spoke there was ordinarily a certain strain of attention which was instantly relaxed when a native speaker began. Also, it required longer for a foreigner to reproduce

what was said than for a native to do so. Partly this was because a foreigner understood more fully what I was saying and implying; partly it was because he had to use more circumlocution to express it. On the technical side there are foreigners who understand the language of mission lands better than even scholarly natives, as Philip Schaff wrote better English than most of his contemporaries though he spoke with a brogue which required careful attention on the part of new students.

In one country a native interpreter told me I would have to change something I was saying, because it could not be expressed in his tongue, but a missionary interpreter in the same land said, " We have no words for that, but I can get the idea across to the audience somehow." Many missionaries acquire great fluency and accuracy in the language, but many do not and yet render excellent service with somewhat limited vocabularies and idioms. There seems no way of eliminating the difficulty involved, though the language schools are valiantly seeking to lessen it.

4. A fourth serious difficulty lies in the fact that missions is a united enterprise with divided responsibility. All of it has to carry the load of each part. In the eyes of intelligent leaders missionaries and methods differ greatly, but in popular observation a missionary is a missionary and a program is a program and each is judged by the others. If one worker does an unwise thing, it becomes a missionary practice. Even if he does it in perfect innocency, it is " the way these missionaries do." Missionaries are not children to be told what they may and may not attempt, nor what they may say and what they must not utter. The result is that they say what they think and do what they please,

limited only by the commonsense which is not always common enough to go around. Principal Rainy once resented a personal attack because he was not willing to have his brethren smitten on his cheek. Unhappily, some missionary workers have not that reluctance and furnish a broad cheek for the smiting of the whole enterprise. The wonder is that there are so few of them in so large a force.

But a real difficulty emerges when the deep personal convictions of missionary workers are taken into account. There is a large amount of unity on the mission field, more than we have been able to maintain in the West. But how can missionaries, out on a solemn errand of giving Christ to their fellows, find a common basis of service with other men who differ from them at what they feel are vital points? They cannot surrender the thing they are there to proclaim. How shall they work back to a basic assurance which they hold in common with others and join with them as fellow-messengers of the gospel?

A missionary in Japan, representing one of the smaller and more dogmatic groups in America, explained to me why he could not support most of his brother missionaries nor even recognize them as true friends of the cause or of Japan. It ran back to his belief that they were not expressing Christianity at all. He felt compelled, therefore, to warn his hearers against these other workers, with all the horrible results involved.

I remember the earnestness of a missionary in India who said, " You send us over here to preach the gospel and then you expect us to join hands with these men who preach anything but the gospel! " Staying at home we all see the way out—Christian love and char-

ity, and all that. But we have not found any way at home for doing the thing. What saves us is the fact that the groups here are so large we can disregard other people.

On the mission field the group is so small that its members must run into each other, and each feels responsible for the whole enterprise. The problem is to keep the force together and yet to secure to each member the freedom he needs to proclaim the message he is there to proclaim. If we are to send really strong men to the mission field, men with conviction enough to carry them across the sea, we need not hope to avoid the difficulty of their joining a force of equally strong men with quite different convictions. That is the very nature of Christianity; it is a religion of free personalities under Christ. Somehow we have to carry the enterprise in full light of this fact.

5. The missionary enterprise unhappily has a divided background. It is supported by only a fraction of the people from whose lands it comes. The non-Christian part of the people have no concern for it, and many professed Christians give it no support. The result is that heavy arguments can be drawn against it from its own lands. At Cawnpore in India two young Hindus quoted to me the saying that the McAll Society in France works "among people of no religion," and when I reached Japan I found the scholarly President Tagawa reminding his hearers that "many Christians lack Christian character and superior personality," as many non-Christians also do. Tokyo bookstalls have abundant anti-Christian material in English.

The Chinese people were told by notable representatives of England and America recently that religion is

an outworn element in human progress and that acceptance of Christianity is unnecessary. I was asked in an Indian audience how rapidly Christianity was dying out in America and when I suggested that it did not seem to me to be doing so at all, I was assured that an American traveller had recently told the questioner that it was so and had given him some books to prove it. Many tourists bring great encouragement to missionaries, and some of their finest supporters are western business men and their families residing in the Orient. Many British civil servants in India are powerful aids to mission service. But, as in America and England, some such people oppose Christian work and would welcome its reduction. Oriental students can attend American universities and feel no pull of the Christian faith. They return to their own lands and become, naturally enough, hindrances to missions.

The easy, verbal way of overcoming this difficulty is to cease all mission work until we have entirely Christianized western lands, changing all university professors and all merchants and tourists into ardent and loving advocates of Christianity. Such talk is either ignorant or foolish. That is not the way in which Christianity has lived its life. It constantly battles with problems created by itself, as this one has been created. There is plenty of argument now for acceptance of Christianity in any university study or any business office; waiting until it is accepted is a mere counsel of despair.

6. There are inherent administrative difficulties so long as the enterprise remains really missionary. Supporters have their own ideas and these have to be reckoned with by the administrative group. The distance and difficulty of communication are unavoidable, even

though they are constantly being reduced. Essentially the difficulty is that the problems of the work arise in one land and have to be ultimately solved in another. In addition, the administrative group are sure to consider each problem in the light or history of the whole enterprise while field workers naturally isolate it according to the peculiar conditions with which they are familiar.

A gathering in China quoted to me humorously a saying that a Mission Board is a voluntary organization of men in the home land whose unavowed purpose is the blocking of missionary purposes. Sometimes it seems to be that, though everybody knows how ironical the expression is. Some help is found in the increasing development of field administration. The problem remains, however, for mission groups differ in policy and this becomes puzzling to new believers and involves discussion in the groups themselves.

The supporting constituency in the sending lands is often a problem in itself. The hardest thing to transport without alteration is intelligence. In spite of all that can be done to prevent it, there are the strangest possible notions about mission lands and people within the home church. Missionaries in addresses naturally point out the things in other lands which constitute the reason for their being there. Tourists, when they return, describe the things that are different or that surprise and interest them. The result is an impression of people and conditions which missionaries know is not complete and which is the most that tourists can get without the language and after a flying visit.

An experienced speaker in Syria said that the only thing one could assume in an English or American audience was ignorance and a readiness to be inter-

ested. Missionaries are often blamed for their presentation of their work, and they accept the blame, but they tread a difficult path between the dark and the light side of the facts, all of which are true. They cannot always stop to remind intelligent audiences that nothing is true of all the people of any land except human commonplaces. What really important thing could a man say about America and Americans that could not be denied about some Americans?

Nothing but a commonplace is true of "all the Chinese" or "all of India." Striking things are true of multitudes of Chinese and are resented by others because they are not true of them. On the other hand, unqualified praise would be as untrue for Chinese as for Americans. Yet the supporting group, nearest to the administrative group, get their ideas somewhere or conjure them up out of nowhere and make the way of administration harder. Until there appears a wholly intelligent nation somewhere to send out and support missionaries, the problem of administration will continue.

7. The missionary enterprise is identified in native thinking with the sending countries. Missionaries have always, and not merely of late, been counted agents of imperialistic or commercial programs. There have been enough governmental actions of various sorts connected with missionaries or mission property or mission results to furnish talking points in spite of denial of any connection by missionaries themselves. At Bijapur, India, in a Hindu shrine is a whispering gallery with nine echoes. Everywhere in it one can hear whatever is whispered anywhere. It has been used as a symbol of the present world. Nothing is done in a corner. There is no such thing as speaking in the ear; everywhere is a housetop.

The United States is not charged with imperial designs in India, but an American has the Philippine Islands thrown up to him there. No one seriously suspects the United States of territorial designs in China, but I was asked in China about the southwestern section of our country and the rights of Mexico. The "yellow press" of Japan can ring the changes on Porto Rico, the Philippines, Guam, Hawaii, and the rest. This puts resident Americans and British of all sorts to a test. Shall they repudiate their nations, as editors in their own lands think they should do "in order to save the gospel," or shall they admit the wrong and yet let themselves be recognized as citizens of the country that is being blamed?

The issue of exterritorialty is simple only to stay-at-homes. Residents are divided on it, but none of them thinks it is simple. That it must soon be abolished is universally agreed, so far as I could learn. But after that is done, it remains in history to be accepted or denounced as an historical matter. Much of the troublesome "imperialism" and "oppression" of the nations is historical or is rapidly on the way to cessation, but this does not clear the air. Always America will be what America was and Great Britain is still Great Britain. Neither has anything to do with the missionary enterprise apart from its citizens who are engaged in it, yet the enterprise must carry the load of all that either land is in practice and in history.

This difficulty is increased by the fact that in many countries the prevailing religion is a large factor in public life, so that national practices are determined by it. It is next to incredible that many western national actions are taken against the protest of Christian people and for reasons wholly apart from Christian in-

terests. I heard an eloquent Japanese pastor describe to his brethren his recent visit to America and his puzzlement in discovering how strong American Christianity is and yet how impotent the Christian forces were to stop what most counted improper and hurtful immigration restrictions. Intelligent as he was, possibly because he was so intelligent, he had always supposed the religion of a nation determined its principal actions. Here he found it was not so. Less intelligent men may miss that fact. But this means that Christianity and the missionary enterprise must always be counted part of the life of the sending countries, responsible in a measure for what they do. There is no escaping this difficulty.

8. A further difficulty lies in the essentially disturbing nature of Christianity. Christ gave fair warning that He did not come to send peace on the earth but a sword. One who has seen the mission field understands how awesomely true was His forecast. There are some conditions in the world with which the Christian faith cannot live in peace, and whoever introduces that faith will be blamed for the strife that is sure to come.

A member of the Egyptian parliament told me on the train that he disliked the College at Assiut because it took the children of *fellahin* and gave them ideas which made them unwilling to return to their simple life and labour. If such things went on, he explained, it would require a complete reconstruction of the industrial and social system of the land. In a general Christian conference in Syria there was a fine, free give-and-take among men and women, which seemed perfectly natural. But one of the older missionaries whose mother had been there before her said that such a scene would have been exceedingly troublesome to earlier people;

it indicated such laxity of relations between men and women, such a changed attitude of women toward men.

Dr. McFadyen tells of a cultured Indian gentleman who was bemoaning the death of his wife. He said: "I did not treat her as a wife; I treated her as an equal; I even allowed her to sit at the same table with myself."[1] Less cultured people would not think so favourably of what education is doing for some young women of India.

In more than one land I was asked regarding the case of a typical young man nearing the end of his education, wanting to establish a home suited to his new Christian faith, who had been married in his early boyhood to a wife chosen by his parents. His wife had remained uneducated, unprepared in training or in ideals for the only kind of home of which he could now think, and was not prepared to break with the old nor to form the new. What was his duty? Was he really married to her in the sight of God? Would he be justified in breaking that relation and establishing another suited to his new life?

All stay-at-homes can decide this question easily, but whichever way they decide means trouble, and the trouble is inseparably connected in the native mind with the new religion imported from the west. That is not always a fair judgment, for many influences are at work destroying the old orders. The missionary "works in lands where the old order is crumbling away—sometimes imperceptibly but always steadily." "He cannot arrest his teaching or his preaching of Christ the moment it faces human greed and heartlessness, or indifference in dealing with evil."[2]

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[1] *Missionary Idea in Life and Religion*, p. 119.
[2] Maclennan, *The Cost of a New World*, p. 85.

But if he does not arrest it, he must be prepared to have his mission blamed as an unsettling force. Some nationals will welcome it instead of blaming it for this.

Christianity is a disturbing force in lands that are counted Christian; why not in other lands? There will be much beauty to be safeguarded against mere iconoclasm; it would be a tragic loss if the whole condition in China or Siam or Africa were annihilated in the supposed interest of Christianizing them. Some of their customs are quite as Christian, once they are understood, as some in Christendom. They ought to be preserved. But when they are selected as a check on missionary zeal, it must be noted that the list cannot be endless and that presently one strikes items which are beyond defence. In their presence Christianity will be a constant and fatal disturbance. People who do not like to be disturbed and people who think that whatever has been of old time ought to be left as it is, will not approve the missionary enterprise. If it has its way things will be radically upheaved, how radically cannot be known until the process goes along. One of the earliest charges against Christians was that they were men who turned the world upside down. Later believers need not hope to escape the charge if they are true to their faith.

9. A serious internal difficulty lies in the fact that while Christianity is a spiritual religion, it always forms institutions suited to its spirit. In theory it is easy to distinguish between the spirit and the institutions; in practice it is exceedingly difficult. Most missionaries say gladly that what they want to do is to present Christ to men in the assurance that He will form His own Christianity around him as He has done

in the West. The prevailing Christian institutions of England and America would be a great puzzle to Paul and Peter and the early Christians, but they are the outgrowth of the spirit of Christ in the environment in which they have developed. Yet the Christian faith has expressed itself in them for so long that it is difficult to leave them behind when one takes Christ to the non-Christian world.

There have been sad instances of sectarian zeal in mission lands, cases where a Christian seemed more zealous for his peculiarities than for the main issues, but these are not the universal rule. Most institutional expressions which can be traced to the West are natural outgrowths of the desire of Christians to form fellowships and to follow Christian practices.

As a visitor I was often asked what I would do under such circumstances as missionaries face with the growth of their work. Here is the problem in its rudiments: Inquirers ask what Christians do. They are told practical things of the pure life and the godly walk. "But have they no distinctive practices?" "Only two; they baptize in the name of Christ and they partake of a common meal in His memory." "Then how do they baptize? And what is the meaning and method of the meal? And what form of organization do they have?" "There is the Bible, find out for yourselves." "But we cannot read nor understand our reading and you are our guide; what shall we do?"[8] Or, suppose a missionary sees that the converts need such sustaining influences as have surrounded his own Christian life; how shall they be formed? One notes that the churches

[8] Dr. A. J. Brown, *The Foreign Missionary*, p. 300, gives an instance when this was acceptably tried by a missionary, but among a reading people.

on the mission field in almost all cases differ largely from home churches and that differences have the glad consent of the missionaries.

I could not find any churches that had grown out of Presbyterian work which were operating under identical principles nor with the same Confession of Faith as the sending churches. The Methodists are more uniform, for they are developing a world system which may become a complication of the total enterprise, great as the idea seems. Baptists generally accent their distinctive practice and form. But for the most part the missionaries are helping to form institutions of spiritual life according to the needs and desires of the people rather than according to their traditions—that is, many of them are, for there are some who have completely identified the meaning of the Christian faith with their particular form of manifesting it. The difficulty can be somewhat relieved, but there seems no way of obliterating it.

10. The missionary enterprise is progressive from stage to stage, measured largely by the importance and prominence of the foreign workers. Of course it is hoping to pass away as native leadership takes full responsibility. In all cases, however, there is a " carry-over " from an earlier stage to a later one. In Japan I heard an amusing protest from a most efficient missionary against the use of the Baptist's word, " He must increase, but I must decrease," as applied to missionaries and the native church, but everybody admits the underlying idea of lessening foreign influences along with increasing national influence. In practice the plan works with complications on both sides. The habit of earlier experiences is strong on missionary and native life—in one case the habit of control or superior

judgment; in the other the habit of deferring to experience.

I found many instances where there seemed more willingness on the part of missionaries to pass responsibility over to nationals than willingness on their part to receive it. In other cases it was evident that a professed readiness to pass over the control was coupled with the feeling that there was no one who could be trusted with it. This is an inherent difficulty of a progressive movement. Parents anywhere find it difficult to set children free for their really independent lives. Some sons never grow up; even less some daughters. Older and experienced ministers seldom give way gracefully to the younger men. And it is difficult for missionaries, with a background of centuries of Christian experience and with some degree of ability to avoid mistakes, to recognize the right and necessity of native control of the Christian enterprise. This is complicated by the fact that money is so often involved, with a " trust " impressed upon it by donors which the missionary feels he must safeguard.

Then, there is the transition period from beginnings which largely reproduce home methods to the use of indigenous methods suited to local needs, methods proposed by nationals and viewed with some question by missionaries. Experiments which have failed elsewhere look attractive to nationals, and may work under their new conditions, but they can hardly be viewed with calm by missionaries who have seen them fail elsewhere. How can such conditions be avoided in a growing church? Anywhere it is difficult to keep all the parts of a complex movement moving at the same pace so that one part does not fall behind others.

Add to this the swift changes in the environment of

mission work. Nothing stays as it was; the scene is always shifting. But those who are in the midst of the changes may easily miss their significance for their own work and fail to adapt it to the new order. A missions book is out of date before it is printed; mission plans are often out of date before they are abandoned.

11. One of the most serious difficulties is that during the missionary phase of the Christian movement there is no suitable environment for the development of the new Christian life. Christianity is a social faith and never comes to its best expression without brotherhood. A new believer is unavoidably set off from his former group, specially at the point of religious observance and social practices. This results generally in his seeking his friendship in the only circle where it can be found —among the missionaries, and this accents the foreign aspect of the faith which everyone is eager to overcome as soon as possible.

This was the origin of "rice Christians." The first converts were cut off from their usual means of support, in many instances ostracised and outcast. Work had to be found or made for them, which was paid for in food or its equivalent. That tended to attract unworthy professions which were made for the sake of the "rice." The evil of the condition undoubtedly carried over beyond its necessity. One is troubled by the large number of native Christians who are employed in one way and another through foreign money. But the evil grew out of a necessity of the Christian life.

Further, in the missionary stage of the movement it is difficult to illustrate all the virtues and graces of the Christian life for sheer lack of ways of doing it in a hostile environment. Several times I met young students who wanted to profess their faith in Christ and

take a definite stand as Christians, who held back because of the only environment that awaited them, entirely non-Christian if not anti-Christian, with suspicion or ostracism because of the abandonment of non-Christian family practices and a consequent inability to make a livelihood for lack of permission from estranged groups.

A Siamese minister told me of a remote group of converts, saying, " It is not easy to live a consistent Christian life among a people steeped in darkest heathenism." There is an English saying that " God is building up the world from the bottom." That is where Christianity often begins and it often has to form its own social order there. Naturally, this difficulty decreases as the missionary phase passes and the native Christian movement gains momentum. But it is unavoidable at first.

This may seem a formidable list of inherent difficulties. Doubtless it is so in the eyes of the wavering group who believe in the missionary enterprise until they see its difficulty. But every mission board has applications each year from young people whose one preference for a field is that it shall be " the hardest place open." That is quite the spirit of any faith born at the foot of a cross. If anyone feels that serious difficulty is reason for withdrawing from a program of Christ's will, he needs only to go back to the sources of his faith. Anything worth doing for such a faith is sure to be difficult.

III

THE PROBLEMS OF PERSONNEL

THE missionary enterprise finds its largest power and its largest peril in its personnel. The workers must deal with its problems and difficulties and must make and execute its program. The present shifting conditions put the working personnel to more severe tests than any other phase of it.

I

There are two personnel groups in the working force—foreigners and nationals. They work in one or more of four relationships:

a. Foreigners are all there at first. At this stage they are selected for their daring and ingenuity and patience. Only a well-grounded faith and purpose could carry men through the resultless stage, unaided by men from the new environment.

b. In the next stage foreigners are joined by nationals who have become Christians and who give their lives to the enterprise as the foreigners do. It is natural that in the beginning of this stage the foreigners are dominant; the nationals naturally look up to them as authoritative. Virtually all mission work has reached at least this stage; much is far beyond it.

c. In the next stage nationals gradually gain ascendancy over foreigners as responsible leaders, as the theory always contemplated their doing. In most institutions I found national officials in various grades, often at the head. Many churches are as free of for-

eign domination as they desire to be. The work is very unevenly developed at this point. Perhaps the blame lies with missionaries, who cannot avoid a certain "carry-over" from the earlier stages, and perhaps it lies in the sense of insecurity and unpreparedness of the new Christian adherents. Further difficulty lies in the fact of finance, since leadership requires responsibility, and responsibility in religious work includes the securing and using of money. Discussion of the difficult question of the use of foreign money under national leadership is to be found in another chapter. It is mentioned here as an unavoidable element in the release of national personnel from foreign direction.

d. The logically final stage is that in which missionary work fades away into the purely Christian movement and leadership is in national hands, with such aid from any foreigner as they may desire and request and control. The beginning of this stage is in sight above the horizon at a few points, and most leaders in the missionary force insist that they are eager for its coming, while they are puzzled about the wisest steps in its progress. Others who think they see those steps clearly grow restive under the slow reaction of less assured workers. It is a case where experience may prove a serious handicap and where the spirit of adventure and rash attempt may be requisite.

A visitor may modestly express the feeling that a more determined effort to pass from the second to the third stage would produce larger results than now appear. Such expressions as "giving the nationals authority," or "surrendering responsibility to the nationals," are unwise, though well intended. They imply that foreigners have authority which they can give

or not according to some will of their own and that there is some magnanimity in surrendering responsibility, neither of which ideas would ever be defended. Authority and responsibility belong to the nationals the instant they are ready to take them. However, the Christian movement is larger than foreigners or nationals, and neither group has any right to imperil it by sentimental actions not grounded in Christian reason. Desire for responsibility or control is no criterion of readiness for it. Holding on to foreign leadership when national leadership ought to be assumed is a serious offense against the spirit of Christianity as a faith of free personalities under Christ. Releasing foreign leadership when national leadership is not prepared to function may be an equally serious thing. Like all great Christian activities, it becomes a magnificent venture of faith. The one thing to be insisted upon is that foreigners must be eager to release any leadership they have as rapidly as possible, and that nationals must prepare for leadership as rapidly as possible. Mutual understanding and appreciation will help in passing this critical stage.

II

Selection of foreign personnel grows increasingly important as the stages pass. The widespread missionary work of the Roman Catholic Church has a carefully trained personnel. This church does not select its workers; it makes them. Its training schools take young lads and prepare them for foreign work through years of study and drill.[1] Protestant churches, on the

[1] The method is explained in material to be had from "The Society of the Divine Word," Techny, Illinois; or from "The Catholic Students' Mission Crusade," Sattuck Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio. See also F. X. Doyle, *The Defence of the Catholic Faith* (1927).

other hand, make their selection much later in the life of the candidate. Sometimes a fairly conscious choice of missionary work occurs in childhood, but when it is so, the church seldom takes control with any directing hand. The lad goes through the accepted course for any suitable service at home, topping off his preparation with special training in some missionary line. Many Protestant missionaries accept their life work during their theological studies, and most of them do so as late as college life. This means that they are selected from available material rather than made. Efforts to introduce missionary preparation in existing programs merely show the growing sense of need for better training for the enterprise.

Foreign missionaries have never been all of one type. The associate editor of *The Nation* (New York), after saying that he has "never liked missionaries," partly because of his Unitarian-Quaker upbringing sets him against "the militant conquest of souls" (whatever that means) and partly because he is "increasingly sceptical of all those things of which a Christian missionary should feel most sure," yet observes how varied are the types of missionaries and how unwise it is to pass blanket judgments about them.

China has missionaries of every description, from the devout Inland Mission workers who used to wear queues and still go about in Chinese costume, living on the rice diet of their congregations, the passionate fundamentalists who teach Christianity exactly as they learned it in tight little American villages, foreign patriots who identify their religion with their nationality, to medical workers who have forgotten creed in healing, teachers who are so absorbed in China that they remember America only when they have to ask for funds,

community workers who belong to the race of Jane Addams and Lillian Wald, and thinkers who have climbed to heights beyond the walls of any single religion. They are all there, and on the whole they are considerably more liberal-minded than the people who support them at home.[2]

Something of the same sort could be written for every land. Nor would these variant types indicate different missions; they may all appear in the field force of any of the larger agencies of mission work. Except within very broad limits, mission boards do not try to select one type alone for so varied a task. One large board declined a considerable gift a few years ago because it was conditioned on sending to a given field a group of workers who should be all of one type of belief, whereas the church it represents makes room for other types as well. And, even so, results on the field have been confusing enough to keep appointing boards humble. Candidates over whom they have shaken their heads have proved flaming successes; candidates over whom they have rejoiced have been complete failures. Nothing absolute can be foreknown about a human figure. Most boards at any period would have sent out Henry Martyn, the Cambridge scholar, foremost mathematician of his class, the " man who never wasted an hour"; or Alexander Duff, the St. Andrews student, who made most of his expenses by winning scholarships and prizes; or Adoniram Judson, leader of his class at Brown University, graduate of Andover Seminary. But most boards would have balked at David Livingstone, whom the London Missionary Society " well-nigh rejected on account of his

[2] *Young China,* pamphlet issued by *The Nation,* 1927.

hesitating manner and lack of ready speech," and whose preparation had been complicated and limited; or Mary Slessor, the Scotch factory girl, who never had much school preparation; or John Williams, the martyr of Erromanga, with his lack of education. Of course as a rule the likeliest prove most valuable and the unlikeliest often fail; the rule simply does not always work. There is hardly a requirement of appointing boards which can be declared historically indispensable, though those requirements have grown out of long experience.

It is no new thing to call for "only the best" for foreign work. Missionary literature abounds in that plea. In 1882 Dr. Griffith John, furloughed from China, told many British audiences:

> We want only your best men. We want able-bodied men, because there is a great deal of physical work to be done in China. We want able-souled men. You must not send us, to China nor, I believe, to any other part of the heathen world, inferior men. We want men with the three G's at least—grace, gumption and grit. A graceless missionary is a pitiful object to behold; but I have almost more hope of a graceless man to begin with than of a man without common-sense; for, if a man has no grace, he can get it for the asking, but if he does not bring common-sense with him into the world, he cannot get it at all. . . . What is the great need of China at the present time? A mighty band of mighty preachers—men that can preach like Whitefield, like Wesley—men that can talk like Dale. Do not send into China your weaklings—men that stammer and cannot interest an English congregation. A man that cannot talk English will never be able to talk Chinese; and do you expect to see a man that cannot influence an English congregation

move the hearts of the phlegmatic Chinese? It is utterly impossible. We must have the best men if we have any at all; as for your inferior men, keep them for yourselves.[8]

The idea that the mission force wants "only the best" has no particular value. What work wants anything else? In a candidate committee meeting, the secretary asked for a guiding principle for seeking candidates for the coming year. It was phrased for him in this way: "Look for the best; and take what you can get." All boards reject far more candidates than they appoint. Missionaries are dug out of the same clay-bank with the rest of men and have all the human streaks running through them. At the same time, they are the most severely selected group of workers now in the Christian movement, and they show it. Many successful ministers in home churches could never be appointed to the mission field. Many women are teaching successfully at home who could not receive a missionary appointment. Physical, intellectual, temperamental, social, spiritual tests are used more radically than with any other group. They fail sometimes; generally they do not.

1. Requirements for foreign personnel are still rising. Nothing affects the central requirements: such an experience and knowledge and appreciation of Jesus Christ that the candidate counts it worth a life's while to let other men know of Him and His gift of love. Without that, all other equipment is inadequate. The tendency is to stiffen at collateral points without lowering these essential missionary demands. So strong is the pressure for trained and exceptional workers that

[8] R. Wardlaw Thompson, *Griffith John*, pp. 378, 379.

some of the smaller societies are protesting in the interest of spiritually-minded workers who may be under-equipped in other ways. They sometimes bring workers home with tales of almost miraculous mastery of the language through trust in God, with other proofs of their fitness. Observation on the field and testimonies of watchful residents do not sustain this protest. For every Mary Slessor who proves adequate for the work without preparation, a dozen unprepared workers hinder the work. Many such workers mistake the courteous attention of Eastern audiences for intelligent understanding of what is being said.

But the difficulty of many poorly prepared workers lies deeper—in their dogmatism and self-assurance. Bacon's "little learning" is a more "dangerous thing" in the field of theology than anywhere else. People with a real religious experience are apt to claim large theological authority and do not realize that there are wide ranges of thought where differences are legitimate. They are not always the leaders in missionary dissensions, but they constitute a large part of the following. I attended part of a meeting of "dissent" in India, when several of the speakers attacked fellow-missionaries in butchered English which revealed the inadequacy of their understanding of the issues involved. The issues were doubtless real, but they could not state them. No one questions the earnestness and dedication of many of these unprepared workers in all lands, but there can be as little doubt of the general unwisdom of their being sent. They have the "zeal not according to knowledge" which the first Christian missionaries noted (Rom. 10:2).

If it were necessary to choose between their zeal

and cold, dead intellectualism, the choice might be discussed. But no such choice is necessary. Nothing in adequate preparation needs to deaden one's ardour or chill one's zeal, and no amount of zeal and ardour can take the place of training and preparation to meet the emergencies and strain of missionary work. The Shanghai Conference of 1922 used this paragraph:

It must be regarded as one of the weaknesses of the missions that even today insufficient attention is paid to the temperament, capacity and training of missionaries. Too much emphasis can hardly be laid on this point in view of the exceedingly exacting conditions of successful missionary work in China. (Race-prejudice, sectarianism and petty jealousies are cited as frequent evils among missionaries.)[4]

2. The new condition of mission lands demands increased care in selection of foreign personnel. Inquiry brought out frequently the warning that, in the present situation, the wrong kind of missionary does more harm than the lack of a missionary. "Better none than the wrong one," came to me several times. Some of the lists of qualities desired would virtually preclude ordinary human beings, and they are named rather as ideals than in hope of attainment.[5] Bishop Uzaki, the sagacious Japanese leader, wants more missionaries, provided they are equipped with "genuine man-stuff, strong and well-poised, with evangelistic passion, friendly, social, cheerful, alive to obnoxiousness of race prejudice." The brilliant Miss Kawai wants the traits of adaptability, cheerfulness, initiative, diligence, spirit of the pioneer; "missionaries today

[4] *Report of National Christian Conference,* p. 198.
[5] *The Christian Movement in Japan, Korea and Formosa,* 1926, Chs. VI, VII, XI.

are too practical. They do not venture beyond their own convenience." Dr. Nagao wants a missionary to be highly trained but not a narrow specialist, able to lead in music, literary arts, sports and athletics. Professor Bessho reports that "well-educated Orientals of high birth and culture frequently feel that missionaries are not up to par intellectually or in personal qualities."

Similar expressions can be found in writings from other countries beside Japan. In a Princeton World Student Conference (1927), attended by foreigners and nationals of the missionary movement, a list of "qualifications of the new missionary" was made up and is fairly characteristic of what such groups are saying. The missionary must have "a deep personal experience of the Christ he strives to share, willingness to play 'second fiddle' and to work *with* and not *for* nationals, teachableness, sympathy with the country to which he goes, cheerful temperament, refinement, culture and education, outstanding character and personality, good health, broad-mindedness, a sense of justice, tact, an understanding of, and a conviction about, the major social, economic and political problems." Imagine a young man coming to a board to assure it that he has all these traits, or think how many men have them all, desirable as they are! Yet which of them would be omitted from any reasonable list of qualities?

A conference of Chinese and foreign Christians in Shanghai early in 1927 agreed that:

While missionaries of the highest spiritual and intellectual qualities were more needed than ever in China, they would have to be willing loyally to serve under Chinese administrative control, to accept responsibility for such tasks—and only such tasks—as the

Chinese Church might assign, to be eager to yield administrative positions even more rapidly than the Chinese might ask for such a change and, finally, to minimize official status and seek, above all, to show a passion for friendship and personal service.

Not least among the difficulties of this new position will be the discovery of the voice of the Chinese Church and the authority through which it may speak in "assigning tasks" to the missionary. It is quite likely that the transfer of authority may proceed less rapidly than is now hoped, but all intelligent observers hope for its speedy accomplishment. A thoughtful young missionary in China adds this note to the requirements:

No missionary should be sent to China now who has not thoroughly studied social psychology and race problems. There is scarcely one person in a hundred in America to whom I can talk for fifteen minutes about China who will not give evidence of some attitude which will offend self-respecting, nationalistic Chinese. Such people—nearly everybody in America—will give more or less offense. They had better stay at home until they are educated along some lines. Last evening the conversation in the place where I was showed very clearly that the Christian cause in China would be better off if that bunch of missionaries went home and stayed. If after they have been out here they cannot sense the feelings and thoughts of the Chinese, what can we expect of the new people coming?

An experienced and highly acceptable missionary in Central America sends this message back to prospective missionaries:

Have you infinite patience? Can you "stoop to conquer," adopt the life of those you are at work

among, get and give sympathy, get their viewpoint? Can you incarnate and, though a God, become a tired, sweating carpenter? Can you become stone-blind to defects of theirs and alert for the detection and development of virtues? Can you stand persecution and calumny and endure the contradiction of sinners against yourself? Can you suppress your snapshot judgment till you have waited and learned? Can you forget self and become absorbed in their welfare? Your career must be all this or failure. . . . It is an enormously expensive experiment, and with sacred funds at that. A lost world has no time to fool with tasters and experimenters.

The new demands arise partly from the new and sharp sense of national character, exaggerated tremendously in many instances but real and vital. Missionaries with a sense of superiority on racial, national or personal grounds are handicapped impossibly. That they have something superior to what they find is, of course, the reason for their being there, but this gives them no more right to personal pride than the possession of a large draft gives to a bank messenger who delivers it next door. Indeed, if Christianity did not believe in the inherent value and equality of the people of other lands it would never send missionaries to them. This heightened sense of personal value and importance is just what missionaries encourage. If it takes troublesome forms occasionally, that is no marvel. The whole missionary enterprise is entering a transition stage, and the tests applied to workers in an earlier stage must not be counted ultimate now. The staff must be made up of men who do not think down to others, but out to them, and who will be ready to think up to them in just as many cases as honesty will

permit. No one urges this more strongly than missionaries. Most of them live up to it.

3. The demands of specialized lines of work, educational, philanthropic, industrial, technical, make it imperative either to cancel them or to discover persons who can operate them. This, in turn, presents a serious problem of field administration. Most missions reserve to themselves the right and duty of assigning new workers to their specific tasks, on the ground that field forces know the relative needs better than they can be known by appointing agencies. If, however, a recruit goes out specially trained for one piece of work and expecting to do it, and yet is assigned to some part of the general work, it causes heart-burnings. Some missions frankly say that they want only a mobile force, ready for assignment to any needy point, and that they do not want specialized workers. Nor will they guarantee that such specialized workers, except within the obvious field of medicine, will be assigned to their special lines of work, though common-sense would be used according to the judgment of the mission. This proves a serious difficulty for candidate departments, who are not able to promise specialized workers that they will certainly exercise their special gifts and training.

Yet the work has progressed at many places to the point where nothing short of specialization can be satisfactory. Otherwise the work ought to be dropped, for the lifting of the level of life in many places and the blunderingly courageous attempts of governments and national groups to develop some of these lines make it necessary that the missionary force shall do them well or not at all. In the Far East especially we cannot give just any kind of education, even though

what we give is immeasurably better than none. Students of Africa are warning missionary leaders that they must prepare for the rising spirit of that land in the field of education, doing the work well or not at all.[6] When I questioned the limitations placed on schools in Chosen, a Japanese official replied that a few men well educated were more desirable than a large number of people slightly educated beyond the primary grades. It is proving less and less possible to determine for other nations what they shall have, and workers who cannot accept these nationalistic and racial attitudes will be uncomfortable and ineffective.

4. An added aid and complication of these variations of missionary work is the use of " short-term workers." For terms of three or four years young people can be used in schools, sometimes in hospitals and in philanthropic programs. Some of the best permanent workers get their beginning in this way, and the tendency is to increase the number, though reduction of educational work in some parts of the Far East will mean a reduction here. The difficulty is to keep it clear that this work is part of the missionary enterprise and demands the same spirit and attitude as any other part of it. Some men are never quite so wise on so many points as immediately after leaving college, and since most of the short-term workers are at this point in their development it is always possible for trouble to arise over dogmatic opinions which later wisdom may alter. It is perfectly proper that opportunities of this kind shall be used for discovery of one's ultimate life work

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[6] See the Special Double Africa Number of *The International Review of Missions,* July, 1926, and the two volumes of the Phelps-Stokes Fund reporting the findings of the Commissions sent to Africa by that Fund.

and even for enlargement of life through travel and experience in other nations. But if this should carry into missionary connections any who are not really interested in missionary work, it proves a mere complication and not a help. On the other hand, the steady stream of new life, coming fresh from the latest ways of study and teaching, is a great asset. All countries want such helpers, on condition that they really are helpers even during their short terms of service.

I ran into a strongly adverse, almost scandalous, story of a school in the Far East which had been visited by the teller, who solemnly vowed not to give another cent, and to hinder other money from going, to it. Some inquiry proved that the school had found itself in an emergency and had picked up a young woman who was travelling and wanted a few months of teaching, though she was utterly without sympathy with mission work and considered herself an apostle of the new knowledge, with the duty of safeguarding her young charges against all the old knowledge that came into sight. What she had said and done was enough to have unsettled her from any school, and it did unsettle her there. But the mischief was done, and done by a worker who had no fitness for the total work of which she became part. The increase of institutions in mission lands supported by individual colleges at home makes this dangerous selection of workers all the more probable, since the standards are apt to be those of a particular campus rather than those of a world enterprise.

III

The native personnel has its problems for the missionary aspect of the movement. 1. In some lands there is a growing desire on the part of Christian na-

tionals to speak regarding the foreign personnel, possibly on its original appointment, certainly on its continuance. It was under the leadership of nationals of mission lands and some missionaries that the 1925-6 Student Conference at Evanston, Illinois, placed among its findings the following paragraph:

The nationals should be given greater authority in the selection of missionaries. (1) One or more nationals should be given a voice either by representation on the candidate committee or as a reference in the selection of candidates before they are sent out. (2) In regions where the Christian movement is well developed the nationals should be a controlling voice in determining whether or not a missionary should continue his work.

This idea bristles with difficulties. It would never enter the mind of Americans that somebody here should have a voice in deciding who should come from China to teach or preach, and it is difficult to keep in mind the great difference between the two situations. Also, it is difficult to know how this national voice is to be expressed. There have been many instances when particular or even official voices have failed to express the real mind of the nation or of the body of which they are spokesmen. I sat with a group in India who felt that something of this kind is needed, but who could reach no agreement as to the way they would themselves operate it. The nearest they came to it was to suggest that the mission should select a few of the best and most representative Christian workers, as little connected with missionary finances as possible, and let them express the mind of the Christian constituency regarding the return of a

given worker as fully as they could, and that this mind should have large weight in deciding the matter.

Difficult as it is, however, the idea is logical at this stage of missionary progress in many places, and its application is not only inevitable but desirable. Several missionaries assured me that they would not themselves wish to return to the field if they had not some form of assurance that their national brethren desired them to do so. Various forms of expressing that desire or objection are being tried.

It should be noted that this is not a phase of the mistaken idea that missionaries should not go to any land except on the invitation of the people of that land. Christ did not come to the world in the first instance at human invitation, and missions have seldom been started on invitation, but rather on an impelling conviction of duty. Nor is there any way of knowing what "invitation" means in this case. It is sometimes said that the Chinese do not want the missionaries. Which Chinese? Multitudes of Christian Chinese say they do want them. Non-Christian Chinese could hardly be expected to express any strong yearning for Christian instruction, but to let them decide what China wants is to disfranchise the present Chinese Christian group. The other Chinese need not have the missionaries if they do not want them, nor go to their schools or hospitals, nor read their books. If it should happen that Christian Chinese do want these opportunities, it seems hardly fair to deny them because the others do not. This is not the problem connected with the return of given missionaries, for here responsible Christian leaders are involved in the same enterprise as themselves and have a growing right to say who shall hold responsible relation to it.

2. The preparation of native personnel for the duties it must assume occupies a large place in missionary thinking. Need for a trained leadership was one of the basic reasons for starting educational programs. The program has gotten away from this purpose, as some American colleges have diverged somewhat from the primary purpose of their founders to raise up a godly ministry. But the need continues—in both cases. Nothing ought to concern the present missionary and national force more than the average inadequate leadership now being provided from among the nationals. The exceptional instances are so many that it seems illogical to call them exceptional. No more eloquent and effective preachers of the Christian gospel can be found than among the nationals of Syria, Egypt, India, Siam, China, Korea and Japan, lands which I list because I think instantly of name after name of such men. The same word could be used regarding other mission lands. What has been accomplished suggests what may yet be done. In most lands Christianity has started at the lower end of the ladder and has not been free to select its leadership from the best trained of the land. The leadership had to be kept within sight of the following, and a too technical training would have unfitted many men for their work.

Theological education is under serious discussion in the West, and it is no wonder that it is for the most part in chaotic condition in mission lands. The stretch between the ideal and the possible is wider there than here: most available material for church leadership does not permit thorough treatment of theological issues, and the work most of the men will do does not require such treatment. Yet until provision is made for the best training, with adequate courses and in-

struction, the strongest men will not be drawn to it. When men of B. A. grade are compelled to study with men of primary grade, as often happens—indeed, more often than not—they are discouraged from the attempt. Most fields are burdened with too many pretences at theological education, institutions which make little discrimination among men according to previous equipment. The exceptions to this practice are joyously recognized, but they are too few.

The financial problem is serious. The new Christian enterprise is seldom financially strong and cannot support highly trained workers in large numbers; yet it seems to many observers that large financial support of such workers by foreign funds brings more of peril than of promise. (This is a moot point and is yet to be worked out. It is discussed elsewhere in this book.) In mission lands, as elsewhere, a long preparation for Christian work involves heavy cost to the man himself and to his family, and it suggests a more adequate return than the low salaries of weak Christian churches can provide. This is an American problem as well. The cost of education is so high, and the process is growing so long here, that when a young man has finished his theological course he is not able to consider the call of small groups in cities or scattered populations and is claimed instead by abler and more settled churches, leaving the feeble ones to shift for themselves or to secure less thoroughly trained men from institutions which cater to such need. This is affecting the ministerial level of whole denominations in America. A similar condition hinders the development of ministerial standards in new lands.

A report to the Shanghai Conference of 1922 dealt with one phase of the subject:

The salary of ministers is usually too low for them to make both ends meet without great difficulty. Ministers should be willing to make sacrifices, but the conditions in China are unusually hard for those whose income does not meet the needs of their physical, mental and social life. Chinese young men of this generation are shunning the highest of callings. The following reasons are given by one who is himself in the Christian ministry: (1) The salary is too meagre. (2) The hardship and toil involved are forbidding. (3) The domination of foreign colleagues drives away many energetic and aggressive young men.[7]

This sounds strangely familiar to anyone who talks with young men in America. Even the third difficulty has its counterpart here in the hesitation of older ministers to recognize the liberty of their younger colleagues.

There is hardly any point in missionary procedure where mere idealistic theory is more boresome to experienced workers than here. It is accepted by everybody that a well-trained and educated leadership is eminently desirable and that its absence is regrettable. What is not always faced is that the lack of it, or the small degree in which it has been created, is the serious obstacle in the way of the Christian movement in many sections. The number of educated men in all these lands is increasing, men to whom Christianity ought to make appeal as readily as it does to educated men in America and England, but it is no more likely to do so there than here when it is voiced by uneducated and half-literate men. A well-trained man, with commonsense, can appeal to the ignorant and the educated; a half-trained man can make his appeal downward, but he can seldom make an appeal upward. An experi-

[7] *Report of National Christian Conference,* p. 101.

enced missionary in India was almost irascible on the other side of this problem, saying he would rather have one plain village preacher, on fire for Christ, than a dozen educated men with their superiority to plain folks. One hears the same thing in every part of America and England. But there is a fallacy in the contrast. Why not word it in this way: an earnest man, untrained and half-informed regarding the meaning of the Christian faith, or an earnest man, trained and intelligent about the faith he preaches—which would one rather see presenting the gospel?

This is part of another problem—that of bringing the enterprise forward until nationals feel themselves on an equality with missionaries. Really strong men do not want to accept secondary positions, subordinate to other men, and until leadership becomes actually national there will be some nationals who will feel that they may serve better in other ways than in church leadership. Strong men are attracted to demanding tasks rather than to directed ones. Many nationals urge that as soon as the work of the ministry or of Christian education is known to be a factor in a self-directing Church, rather than an appendage to missionary forces, more capable men will be drawn to it. Many missionaries resent the implication of this argument, but the little observation a traveller can make tends to support it. The best national leaders seem to emerge where the largest opportunity is given for independent action. By and large the independent churches seem to have the more forceful native leadership. It may be closely allied to missionaries, but it reveals a sense of independence from their control.

3. The multiplying of Christian agencies has brought about an increase in the use of non-Christian workers,

nationals who can teach in mission or other Christian schools better than foreigners but who remain adherents of other faiths. Calling them non-Christians is misleading to most Westerners, for the term here is almost equivalent to irreligious. If a man in America is not a Christian, he seldom has any religious faith, and parents naturally hesitate to have their children committed to his care. The word carries no such connotation in the Far East. A non-Christian teacher in a Christian school may be far more earnest for the spiritual good of his pupils than a half-hearted Christian teacher. And it may be earnestness for the Christian faith, even though the teacher himself does not profess it. He knows that the school in which he teaches is Christian, and he will generally be sincere and courteous enough to throw no obstacle in the way of students. It does not occur to some of these teachers to undermine the work of the institution which they have agreed to help.

I learned of a Buddhist teacher in a Chinese school whose influence was uniformly toward sincere acceptance of Christ and the profession of the Christian faith on the part of his pupils. He said to them: "I am older and fixed in the old ways; you are young and the future is yours. The Christian religion and not Buddhism is the future faith and it ought to become yours." A member of that staff said that this man was more true to the purpose of the school than a professing Christian whose students understood clearly that his concern was for their mathematics and not for their religion and that it was immaterial to him whether they went out Christians or not.[8]

[8] Selden, *Are Missions a Failure?* has a chapter showing that "non-Christians and anti-Christians are not the same."

Recognizing this possibility, it is still true that Christian nationals have a serious problem on their hands in the necessity for turning to non-Christians at this early and critical stage in their work. When a college president in America explained his calling of an avowed non-Christian and irreligious teacher to an important chair in his institution on the plea that there he could find no Christian well enough equipped to supply the place, it was sharply resented as an insult to numbers of well-trained men. But it is no insult to charge the nascent Christian churches with this lack in mission lands. Only, it is a situation fraught with grave peril unless it is consciously faced and provision made for its ending as rapidly as possible.

The solution of the difficult problem may lie in the selecting of a group of superior young people and sending them away for thorough training under direction of Christian leaders in order to have them ready to rank with the best that can be found otherwise. A characteristic suggestion on this line was made in 1926 by a Korean professor in the Union Christian College at Pyeng Yang:

I hope missionaries will send many useful Korean young people to foreign countries to study Christianity there that they may perfectly digest the thought and make it their own. Then let them come back and do their own work. I think it is necessary that they should gradually turn the work over to the Koreans as soon as they find Koreans who are able to undertake the work.

This involves expense and experience, which must be found either locally or through foreign aid. And again we come into presence of that knotty question

of subsidies for a church that is coming to self-consciousness. How far can foreign money be used in this transition stage of the enterprise without crippling it? Nothing can ultimately take the place of the further development of those already numerous schools and seminaries of training for Christian leadership. The problem they face is the difficult one of balancing what can be done over against what ought to be done. They are compelled to take available material and equip it for service in the church that exists on the field. Ideal material is not available, and there is no ideal church to receive it. Yet to lose sight of the ideal would be a tragedy and would delay the passing of the missionary stage and the appearing of the full Christian movement for decades.

I asked a western banker in China what was his largest problem. He replied at once: "Getting the right kind of men." I asked Mrs. Gandhi what was her husband's largest problem in advancing his program. Her son replied for her: "Finding enough men who will think of India first and themselves afterward." Ask any missionary leader what is the largest problem of the moment, he will reply: "The problem of personnel, foreign and national."

IV

NATIONALS AND FOREIGNERS IN THE ENTERPRISE

IN a previous chapter reference is made to the general problem of the relation between foreign and national personnel and the natural development of that relationship as the work progresses. No question is ever raised regarding the ultimate and desirable leadership of the nationals. This had been the theory from the first, and movements are always occurring to that end. Dr. McFadyen speaks of missions as "a temporary phenomenon." A veteran worker in Egypt spoke of the duty of the missionaries to saw off the limb on which they were sitting as rapidly as possible. Another in India said that missionaries ought to make themselves unnecessary as quickly as they can. When foreign workers come home and hear wise critics in conference explaining that nationals ought to become leaders of the work in their own lands, they wonder what the critics have been doing about it all these years, for it has been an unquestioned theory of the field force from the hour of its arrival on the field. At a large "Evaluation Conference" of Presbyterian missionaries in China (1926) a statement was adopted which would find no dissenting voice among missionaries around the world:

The ideal of both mission and Church for the Church's attainment is no other than that of the New Testament, namely, an organized association of all

those who have become new creatures through faith in Jesus Christ and surrender to the transforming work of His Spirit, for the purpose of fellowship in and with Him in united worship, mutual edification, loving ministry, service to society and the nation, and universal evangelization. The ideal Church in any nation must necessarily be indigenous in the sense that it must be self-propagating, self-supporting and self-governing and, both in outward form and inward spirit, the free expression of that people's life under the guidance of the Spirit of Christ, building upon the only Foundation which any man can lay and according to the ideas of the Word of God which abideth forever. . . . According to the above principles, the mission, from beginning to end, looks upon itself as merely the transient agency by which the Christian Church of one land or race seeks to fulfil the great commission of our Lord and Saviour; its functions and activities to be transferred as speedily as possible to the permanent and growing church, whose primacy, autonomy and responsibility must ever be, together with the duty of full world evangelization, the predominant concern of the mission.

The two difficulties with such a statement are, first, to get it read in missionary circles because it is so commonplace; and secondly, to find ways to give it any practical effect, to " get it off of paper and into practice." The Christian professor of Political Science in Tsing Hwa College, Peking, reminds us that " the ultimate, the only aim of missions in China is to build up a Chinese Christian Church and to help it stand on its own feet." A joint conference of nationals and foreigners at Asansol agreed that:

The aim of our church is to do its part in helping India to see and to acknowledge Christ. This can never be accomplished until the church is thoroughly

Indian—Indian in its leadership, Indian in its worship and types of service, Indian in its art and architecture, Indian in its interpretation of Christ. The church cannot appeal to India until it realizes these facts and sets itself to achieve these goals.

Responsibility for the achieving of this nationalist leadership does not lie wholly with the foreign workers. One sometimes feels that national groups need only take what belongs to them, instead of asking the missionaries to " grant " or " give " it to them. No one could, or would wish to, restrain national workers from taking any leadership which they would assume with all its responsibilities. In a conference in Syria something was said about the subserviency of the nationals to the foreigners and the necessity for larger freedom for them. A Syrian worker in a " Friends " mission objected that freemen in Christ ought to take the freedom they needed; he would like to see anyone tell him either what to believe or what to do, except by his own co-operation. Here, again, there would be little struggle over the theory. But the matter is not so simple. There must be much give-and-take in readjusting the relations which have become somewhat habitual.

Several instances fell under my observation in which entire equality was supposed to be achieved in responsibility and control, and in a multitude of cases I found plans for approaching it, ranging all the way from the complete disappearance of separate organizations to joint committees dealing with particular things. So far as an interested observer could see, there was genuine desire to find the way. At the same time, it was inevitable that Christian experience and especially ecclesiastical experience were with the foreign workers, and their opinion was apt to have undue weight with na-

tionals. The method of co-operation did not seem to matter much, if only it expressed genuine desire to see responsibility pass into national hands. I sat in large gatherings where the voting was shared on all questions and in small dining-room gatherings where joint committees were in session. Of course I could understand the foreigners somewhat better than the nationals, but there seemed more readiness on their part in these meetings to pass responsibility to nationals than on the part of the nationals to take it. I saw enough, however, in several lands to make me realize that there are foreigners who are not really ready for any positive steps toward the end which they sincerely want to see reached in time. A foreign speaker at the Shanghai Conference (1922) spoke plainly on this matter:

> The foreign frown has lost many a leader whom the rank and file of Chinese Christians would have followed gladly. There is too much justification for the common, though politely veiled, opinion among the Chinese that the foreigners do not really welcome Chinese leaders. (Report, p. 235.)

A number of the missionaries, I noticed, continued to think of their native brethren with good-humoured toleration rather than with fraternal respect. They loved them with the love of complacency but hardly with the love of equality. On the other hand, some of the finest fellowships I saw crossed racial lines freely.

I

The very uneven development of the work at this point makes all generalizations dangerous. Most of the declarations of conferences at home become invalid as soon as they are carried into general application

or pass beyond mere commonplace. Complications emerge in the applying of the accepted principle. Recent increase of national consciousness in all lines so accents the desire for self-control in the Church and for national leadership, that many observers consider this the most pressing problem of the enterprise. It did not originate in China in the present disturbance. Dr. Charles E. Patton, a representative Chinese missionary, writes that the real ground for the heart-questioning that has occurred among workers there is traceable to demands for national leadership months before the revolutionary struggles broke out. In Korea I was often warned not to suppose that the missionaries control the Church, though others thought they had too much influence over it. In Egypt the largest Christian gathering I attended was entirely under national control, in a church erected by Egyptian Christians on plans determined by themselves. In India I was violently assured after a meeting that there is no chance in that land for the Christian faith until it breaks away from every relation to foreign control. Yet voices in all these lands warn against too rapid movements toward separation from foreign influence and direction.

I sat for a long conference with an honoured Chinese official of a Christian University, while he explained to me why it would be possible to make too great haste in putting responsibility into Chinese hands. One of his terms has stuck by me as suggestive for wider use. He said that there had not yet been time for their Christian faith to become instinctive and automatic. When a common issue arises, an instinctive Christian knows at once what the mind of Christ would be regarding it; few of the leaders in a new church

have yet had time to acquire this instinct; they must stop and think it out. That is only a temporary limitation, for the Christian faith is quite as definite and complete there as here, and of course there are third and fourth generation Christians.

In Siam I was asked to concern myself for the organizing of another Presbytery so that a Synod could be established there, connected with the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. I joined the missionaries and many of the national brethren in asking: Why keep the Church in Siam connected with the Church in America? Since that time the Church in Siam has organized on its own lines, completely independent of America, with its own creed and forms. In much of its work it will need, as it deserves, large aid from the United States, but its only problem now is how rapidly it will assume the leadership that belongs to it of right. It is by no means certain that such counsel would be given on the west coast of Africa at the present stage of work. Shoulders are hardly broadened enough to carry the load of leadership. There are parts of India and China where no sufficient leadership has yet been developed to justify such a move.

This same question arose in the All-India Methodist Conference in January, 1927, made up about equally of nationals and foreigners:

> Whether we are to maintain our connection with the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States and in other parts of the world, or unite with other church groups in India for the formation of a national church, is a question that is becoming increasingly acute to a portion of our Indian membership, but as a whole we have not yet found our minds on this matter. We believe, however, that the need for spiritual unity

among denominations justifies our giving cordial response to approaches from other denominations on the subject of church union, and that our Annual Conferences should appoint members to investigate the united church organizations already operating in India.

The mere text of this declaration would indicate that the Methodist group in India meant only to follow the leadership of others in the matter of church union and national fellowship, but that would not be a fair inference from the whole document of which it is a part.

The desire for national leadership involves no animosity toward foreign missionaries. On February 6th, 1927, a large body of representative Chinese Christians issued at Shanghai a Manifesto regarding the desire and duty of the Christian Church in the present crisis. Part of the long document reads as follows:

More than ever before, there stirs in the heart of the Chinese Christian Church the desire to find its own soul and to live its own life. More than ever before, the Chinese Christian Church is experiencing a compelling sense of obligation to assume responsibility for carrying on the Christian movement in China even though its leaders are fully conscious of their unpreparedness for the work. In this crucial experience through which we are passing, we need the continued co-operation of the older Christian communions of the West and of our missionary co-workers in China. None better than ourselves realize our unpreparedness to carry on a Christian movement which thus far has been fostered largely by the churches of the West. . . . In concluding this word to our missionary co-workers, we wish again to express to them our deep appreciation of the noble work which they have been carrying on in China, to assure them of our continued trust and affection, and to record herewith our convic-

tion that they have a permanent and fruitful place in the service of Christ among our people.[1]

The Manifesto as a whole is a powerful plea for national leadership and for complete autonomy in the Chinese church, but this does not make the paragraphs quoted illogical.[2]

In no land has national leadership become more matter-of-course than in Japan. Most churches there are wholly independent of foreign direction. From time to time suggestions are made that the day for missionary work in Japan is past. I could not find any national leaders who considered it so. President D. Tagawa, who left political work to enter the educational field as head of a Christian University, wrote in 1926 to a representative of a large missionary agency: "I do not know what your opinion about the future plan of the evangelization of Japan is or whether the number of missionaries may be reduced, but I wish that you would increase the numbers of teachers, Christian teachers, in the near future, and would exert yourself to cultivate the field of Christian education. . . . I wish that you might send a larger number of able teachers to this institution." A joint declaration of the mission and the Church of Christ in Japan includes this paragraph: "The foreign missions era in Japan is not yet drawing to a close, and any misconceptions in that regard should be dissipated, and the sympathy, the prayers, and the active participation of American Christians encouraged to the fullest extent possible."

No Christian leader is more honoured in India than Mr. Kanakarayan T. Paul. He wants the Indian

[1] *The Chinese Recorder*, April, 1927, pp. 292, 293.

[2] For further illustration, see O'Neill, *Quest for God in China*, Ch. XI, "From Dependence to Leadership."

Church to be not only independent but self-supporting, and is doing a lion's share to accomplish that end. In 1926 he wrote that "most missions have now accepted the principle of devolution (lessening of foreign and increasing of native control), and are actually devolving responsibility on the churches with varying degrees of speed and wisdom." He feels that it will not do to send money without men, however:

> Missionary responsibility can be discharged only through the human personalities sent out to the field. Where devolution is taking place, the persons so sent out may have to work under the churches. But their life and service are still needed. I do not know of any church in India that can dispense with such a witness. . . . The Indian Church does still need foreign personnel to assist it in regard to its own spiritual life. . . . We do need you. We are not ashamed to own it; perhaps before the day is done, the benefit might seem to be mutual. . . . We have gigantic tasks, and desperately perplexing problems in our great and hoary land. Come and help us with a hand, for the love of Jesus Christ! [8]

Such extracts show that the movement for national leadership is only the natural expression of Christian freedom, which never implies disregard of the service that can be rendered both by and to other Christians. It is not ungrateful nor arrogant; it is perfectly natural. The one problem it presents is the method of continuing aid with a reduced measure of direction—turning control into co-operation and later into mere service.

Missionary leaders are in theoretical unity about all this. They would agree with the word of Mr. J. H.

[8] Speer, *The Unfinished Task of Foreign Missions,* pp. 308-311.

Oldham in his address at the Shanghai Conference to which so much reference has been made:

When does Christianity become truly national in its expression? I would say in a sentence, When the main direction and control of the Christian movement is in the hands of the people of the country—when they make the decisions. . . . So long as we foreigners make the decisions, we shall put a foreign stamp on them; we cannot do anything else. When Chinese make the decisions, they will put a Chinese stamp on them; they cannot do anything else.[4]

Put Indians, Siamese, Japanese, in place of Chinese, and the sentence is still good. Of course, it is altogether possible to overdo this concern for purely national churches. Essentially what is wanted is a Christian Church, which will have fundamental likeness in any land to the same Church in other lands. Yet anyone will recognize at once the validity of Mr. Oldham's statement. A Christian worshipper in London exclaimed to me: " How nice it seemed to get back to the good old English way of doing things in church," after he had sojourned for a time in America!

II

Insistence on the financial element involved in the issue often brings protest. But there is no escaping it. In India a group of national leaders divided among themselves in my hearing at this point. One part said: " What the foreigners pay for, let them govern." The other part counted it too drastic a principle. They could see no reason why one group of Christian believers could not put money into the hands of another

[4] *Report of National Christian Conference*, p. 665.

group and trust them to use it as wisely as themselves. They urged that native hands might administer it more wisely because of local knowledge.

The two questions involved are obvious: 1. How far can foreign money be used without injuring the self-respect and independence of the national Church? 2. How can the "trust" impressed on foreign mission gifts be fulfilled without foreign supervision of its expenditure?

1. There can be no doubt of the general injury in receiving continued financial aid as a mere grant. Many home mission churches in Christian lands give clear testimony at this point. Subsidies granted out of hand are bad policy nine times in ten. If the tenth case could be chosen at the beginning by some magic of insight, the matter would be clear. Endowment and income from endowment do not have quite the same effect. The trouble lies in the sense of dependence on the generosity and good will of others for one's existence or the continuance of one's program. Can the native Church feel itself really independent when it knows that part of its work depends on whether the foreign funds are continued? The Evaluation Conference of Presbyterian workers in China (1926) said frankly:

Evaluation of the mission's present policy of aiding from the beginning the local churches and unorganized groups with large grants toward the employment of resident evangelists, pastors and primary school teachers and the provision of buildings, leads us to the profound conviction that as missions we have too often hindered rather than helped the young Church in its advance toward the ideal by fostering a spirit of dependence upon others for that which should be supplied

by their own sacrificial service in the Spirit of Christ; and by starting the life and work of the Church on a scale of expenditure which it cannot hope to maintain on its own resources.

The issue is somewhat less difficult in case of schools and hospitals, which are never expected in any country to be self-supporting. The over-scaling of such institutions is easier than with churches. Indeed, my attention was often called to the fact that church building is less emphasized than college building. Boys come back from a well-built college to find a locally and cheaply built church, and often have the same reaction as the average American lad under the same conditions. Education looks to be the big thing and church worship the little thing. Mean little houses of worship do not attract strong men to the Christian faith in any land.

However, there are some prevailing practices which make the case harder. One is the neglect of common worship in the religions from which the new believers have come. One cannot fail to note the run-down condition of places of non-Christian worship or devotion which are left to the care of their adherents. Temples and shrines are allowed to fall into decay and disrepair for lack of personal concern for them. I was so impressed with the repairing of old temples in Siam, contrary to what was observed in India, that I inquired if it meant a revival of popular Buddhism. I learned that the people as a whole seldom had anything to do with these repairs. They were the work of wealthy individuals who were acquiring merit under a new ruling that repairing a shrine is of the same nature as building one; it brings merit in either case. But it would not occur to the people who go to the shrine that they ought to

contribute to its upkeep, or to the support of the priest, out of love to their religion. Whatever they did would be for the sake of merit.

A wide social investigation in the province of Shantung, China, led Professor A. G. Parker, Jr., to say that the religion of the average Chinese "costs him little more than one dollar a year, and he has given in his lifetime about two dollars for the building or repairs of temples." A system of religion which involves the support of an organization like a church, with a minister and a scheme of benevolences, is a new idea and comes into an environment to which it is alien. An educated young Korean Christian explained to me that the habit of giving, with no thought of personal gain, has to be acquired just as truly as the habit of singing in a seven-tone instead of a five-tone scale, and that it is very difficult to acquire that habit in mature life. Yet it is amazing how splendidly the Koreans have acquired the giving habit, however hesitant one might be about the scale matter!

The prevailing religious practice of non-Christian religions does not develop corporate responsibility. For example, the rendering of religious service without fee, because the minister is supported out of a common fund, has no place in the systems of India or China or Africa. Being sought out to receive spiritual help is a new experience for new Christians. It belongs to the genius of the Christian faith. And it comes into an economic situation which is old and has never made provision for this added strain.

So definite a problem is naturally receiving great attention on the field. Nationals are not asking the permanent or undiminished use of foreign money for the sake of self-government. In all cases it is proposed as

a maximum that grants be assured in diminishing amounts until the Church is able to take over the work completely. It must be remembered that in all lands the Christian group is comparatively small and yet that an entire machinery for a much stronger Church is already set up. Because of western denominational extension, there are more churches and institutions to support in some places than ought to exist. Measured by the size of the present Church in India, for example, there are easily twice as many theological seminaries of various sorts as are needed. The Chinese doubtless need all the colleges that exist in that land, and more still. But the number now under Christian name and control is much larger than the Christian group in China would have organized out of its own life and much larger than it ought to be asked to support out of its own resources.

In the February, 1927, number of *Truth and Life,* a journal of Chinese Christians, Mr. P. C. Hsu calls for a greater concentration of work for the sake of self-support and government, saying that "big cities such as Peking should have no more than four or five churches, a small city should have only one, and three or four villages should combine to support one." It is not so confused in foreign lands as in some parts of America, but it is properly receiving careful consideration. The question is not so much whether financial aid will be given before complete self-government is taken over, but how it can be given so that it does not cut the nerve of the Church and so hinder the very purpose of its bestowment.

The World War brought about a condition in central Europe which may yet prove a guide in this vexed matter. Two policies regarding Christian work in these

countries have always prevailed. The Methodist and Baptist Churches in America have organized Churches of their own order in Europe for the aid of Protestant Christianity. The Presbyterian and Congregational Churches have not done so. Their policy has been to aid existing agencies which come nearest to rendering the service which they desire to see rendered. With the War and the break-down of self-support in several countries these local agencies have called for increased financial help. The work has been committed to the Foreign Missionary Board of the Presbyterian Church. It sends no missionaries to these lands, but only occasional counsellors and inspirational delegations requested by the authorities of the Church or agency involved. Its aid is made in the form of grants for specified services to be rendered. This is made possible because the machinery for administering of such aid is already set up on the field and can be operated more effectively by natives of those lands than by foreigners. In most cases the Christian faith in these lands is of longer duration than in America or England.

It is altogether possible that some churches in mission lands have gained the same right to complete independence of foreign direction although unable to operate without foreign financial aid. We are not in sight of the ending of foreign personnel in mission lands, but we may soon see groups of nationals quite as well prepared to administer foreign money as the nationals of central Europe, if only they can give assurance that such grants will strengthen the Church instead of weakening it.

The prevailing method now is to administer foreign funds through joint committees of foreigners and nationals, but the fact that the money originates with the

foreigners, and that they cannot guarantee its amount or continuance, has made this method a little less than satisfactory.[5] The new insistence on complete self-government is apt to lead to less foreign voice in administering money that may be granted.

Few questions involve more need for patience and understanding and a true Christian ideal on both sides of the line.

2. There is a givers' side to the use of money. In Western lands donors do not give largely and persistently without some assurance that the money will be wisely administered. Loss of confidence in an administering agency is a sure precursor of the drying up of gifts. Money for the independent Churches of central Europe is harder to secure than money for missions in other lands, partly because donors feel more closely connected with its use. It is widely felt also that those who take the control ought to provide the support. This is not an expression of meanness nor of mere desire for dominance. It is as much part of American thought as any Oriental idea in Oriental thought. Supporters of foreign missions are not people with such abundance of money that it can be lightly given. They are generally those who count their money a trust from God, to be used where it can render the largest service, not merely some good service.

The Evanston Student Conference of 1926-7 gave as a valid criticism of present foreign mission work that "the Church in America is largely unwilling to aid Christian work in the East except as controlled by American ideas of Christianity and of the Church."[6]

[5] O'Neill, *Quest for God in China*, p. 242.

[6] Dr. Fleming's note on this subject, *Whither Bound in Missions?* p. 175, and that of Dr. Cavert, *The Adventure of the Church*, p. 231, use this hesitation in adverse criticism of givers.

This hardly covers the ground, as anyone knows who understands the attitude of givers. One of the chief complaints regarding givers for home enterprises is that they do not keep themselves informed sufficiently about the use of their money. Certainly it will not do to be severe with those who insist on knowing that wise and capable hands are administering their trust funds across the sea in conditions utterly unknown to themselves. That they are willing to trust somebody is clear enough, for all the funds of a foreign mission board come from these donors. In time they can be led to see that native hands in other lands can be trusted with their gifts, but it is not strange that many distrust such unknown hands when they have had as much occasion to distrust more familiar ones. Nor is it true to say that it is " American ideas " that must be maintained. It is merely experienced hands. About $70,000,000 annually are given. Under complete self-control in mission lands, the amount would probably be reduced at some points, but every investigation shows that the amounts wanted for old or new enterprises under any changed plan of control total more than present sums, and bid fair to do so for some years to come. More teachers, more ministers, more schools, not fewer, are needed. Only by a total change of attitude can donors be led to commit their trust money to hands over which they have no form of guidance and with whose methods they cannot be conversant.

The head of a large and efficient university in Japan spoke to me of his great disappointment when visiting America in discovering how very hard it was to get money for the university, which seemed to him to have every claim. Mr. Rabindranath Tagore writes in *The Atlantic Monthly* for June, 1927, a criticism of the

spirit of Americans because they did not accept his plea for his school in India which he counts a marked contribution to international good will. Neither of these visitors probably realizes the Western feeling that when money is given it should be under some guarantee of administration with which the donor is familiar. Benevolent agencies in America could have told them that their way would be difficult; their plea was wholly disconnected with the habit of knowing the control of large gifts. There was nothing personal in their failure. But the projects were far away and under guidance entirely dissimilar from that to which donors are accustomed. If either had formed a board of control recognized by donors, the funds would have been less difficult to secure. It is not national arrogance nor a narrow-mindedness which insists on running everything it touches. The large foreign mission giving of the present precludes that explanation. It is merely the long habit of knowing how money is used and wanting assurance that it is in familiar hands. Western givers know that financial habits and standards in the Far East are different from those that prevail in the West; they may be quite as good, but they are certainly different. No one has ever tried to raise considerable sums of money without finding that if it is to be turned over to administrators whose ideals and methods are not clearly known, the task is exceedingly difficult.

This applies to all foreign mission gifts. If colleges pass into national hands entirely, it is certain that many givers will consider that the same hands should support them, or at least that they must know what ideals in education or finance will govern. That the leaders are Christian is not all the point; their ideas of the wise use of money, or at least some measure of appeal if they

use it unwisely, is more to the point. The history of Christian work in Hawaii illustrates this. When it passed over to native hands, foreign funds for its support steadily declined more rapidly than native ability increased. Sagacious nationals see this clearly, and in many cases they decline to take over the entire control of missionary institutions until the native Church develops resources to take the place of those which may cease to come from foreign lands. Most of the mission colleges supported independently of regular mission funds are incorporated under American or British laws and largely for this reason. They exist solely for the nationals of their lands, and foreigners have no part in their benefits, but their financial administration is assured according to familiar methods.

This aspect of the matter is sometimes overlooked by nationals in the suggestion that funds and administration be recognized as belonging to them. Mission boards are seldom allowed to overlook it. Even on the field it is involved in the difficulties of the work. Mr. Arthur Rugh, a leading worker in the Y. M. C. A., told a group of students in Peking that he was not representing the United States government but was supported by people in America and entirely controlled in China. The next day the school paper said:

> The man from America, he tells a lie. There is no organization on earth that will support a man whom they cannot control. If he is supported from America, he is controlled by America, and he is representing the American government.

Clearly, here is one place where the foreignness of the enterprise impresses observers. Ways must be found for transferring the burden and the control of

its finances to national hands, even though for a time aid must be given.

III

The large mission property which has been accumulated through the years naturally enters into this same issue.[7] Occasionally these properties have been grants from rulers or wealthy nationals; generally they have been purchased from money given for missionary purposes in other lands. The value of such holdings is not known in detail, but it amounts to some millions of dollars. With the development of the lands and the clearing of superstition the value of these holdings increases. I recall one mission possession in a Far Eastern city, occupying a section of a hilltop, which was purchased when the people had superstitions against such sites and sold it as waste land. The value has so increased that it is now a valuable bit of property, and some missionaries would be glad to dispose of it in the interest of less valuable property. I saw one location which had been counted worthless by the native residents, which was bought through a series of years for about $25,000 and is now listed by the government at $500,000, independently of the buildings on it. This is the most marked instance I know and perhaps ought not to be used because it is so exceptional, and because the plant established on the land is so splendidly serviceable to the people who live about it.

The argument here is that these holdings are not extravagant, and no exploiting has occurred. It is

[7] In *The Chinese Recorder*, December, 1925, a missionary refers to the property as a "plague" and another as a "millstone." Of course both realize the necessity of mission property in some form.

sometimes said by opponents that missionaries have acquired undue amounts of property at improper rates, but most of the property I saw in all these lands was made valuable by mission use, not by native location or development.

The property becomes a problem when the question of national control arises. Whose is this property? On what terms shall it be taken over from missionary hands? It falls into three classes: *a*. Some of it has been given by nationals for local use, and of course it is theirs as soon as they are ready to take it over. *b*. Some of it has been purchased by money given by foreigners for the specific purpose which it serves. For this the foreign agencies are trustees to the donors merely to see that it is administered for its purposes. When they are satisfied that national hands will administer it according to those purposes, their pleasure is to release it to those hands. *c*. Some of it has been secured in connection with the regular missionary program, bought out of funds given for missionary work and applied at this spot rather than some other because of the immediate needs of the enterprise. Foreign agencies are trustees for this property, not to individual donors, most of whom are not known, but to the wide purpose for which these agencies exist. They cannot dispose of it without due consideration of the whole enterprise at the time when the funds tied up in it might again become available. A fairly typical action of such an agency is that of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions regarding property in China:

(1) All property held by the board in China is held by it in trust for the Presbyterian Church in the

U. S. A. in its foreign missionary undertakings, save where the funds came from China, in which case the board deems itself trustee for the Chinese Church or the Chinese people. The fact that the board has expended in China this money given by the Church in the U. S. A. does not create any presumption that it was or will be a donation to the Church in China or to other agencies which have been or may be established there. (2) The board must judge with regard to each piece or classification of property whether its transfer to the Church or some agency of the Church in China is possible or advisable, and, if so, what terms of transfer would best fulfil the purpose of the donors and the trust responsibility of the board to promote the establishment of living and autonomous churches in all its fields of missionary work and to hasten the evangelization of the world. . . . The board will of course give full and just consideration to all equities which may exist by reason of specific gifts, designated for their purpose, and of unearned increment in property values.

The last clause covers matter that has caused much discussion. The issue would not arise in the earliest stages of the enterprise. It becomes acute only when control is passing out of foreign into national hands.

The World War showed that procedures may become very irregular in dealing with "alien property," and conditions in China during the virtual civil war have revealed that nations do not greatly differ in times of crisis. But in all the discussion of transfer of leadership to nationals, where admittedly it belongs as soon as they will take it, the property matters will always be vital. The foreign mission agencies do not cease when they no longer lead in a given location; they merely transfer their service elsewhere, and they must consider how they can be of really largest help in all

the locations where they work. In no sense are they money-making agencies, and any one of them is ready to surrender property and all without question when it is certain that this surrender will advance the enterprise for which it exists.

Embarrassment comes from the existence of three parties in every such case: the nationals, who think of the property as a natural part of the missionary equipment; the missionary force, to whom naturally the work nearest them seems the large one and who realize the need of their own fields; and the board, naturally considering any given situation as merely one point in a total enterprise for which it is trustee. In the great majority of cases there will be no difference of opinion among the three, and most property accrues to the local work. It is only in the occasional case that the principle described brings about a difference of thought, but such differences may arise more frequently as national control in stronger centres releases foreign funds and workers for less advanced positions. By all reckonings, when the missionary phase of the Christian movement is completed, all this property will have passed into local Christian hands somewhere in the world.

IV

One other aspect of the relation between nationals and foreigners is a vital one at present, but will end with the completion of the transfer of leadership to national hands. It is that of the guardianship of the faith on the part of those who know it best. Many supporters of the missionary enterprise are zealous that the nascent Church shall be protected from every form of error, which seems mere common-sense. Differences

within the foreign force are discussed in another chapter, but they cannot be entirely omitted from the subject of this chapter.

In the first stage of the work missionaries are the authority regarding the Christian faith, its contents and its form. In the final stage the native Church will recognize no authority over it short of Christ Himself. In the transition stages the case is not so simple. The new believers are naturally thought of as unprepared to face and deal with disturbing questions of divergences. In all groups they are discussed, of course, for they could not be wholly avoided. But in many of these groups they are always presented adversely, somewhat as a college president in America always saw to it that evolution was presented to his students "as a work of the devil." He claimed that no student of the college ever went out from the institution without knowing evolution as it actually is. Christian differences can be handled in the same way.

In a conversation in the Far East, I asked if this or that erroneous idea was ever discussed "on its merits." "No," said my friend, "on its demerits; it has no merits." It happened that I agreed with my friend on the errors in question, but I have seen so many men unsettled in later ministry through sheer lack of knowledge of the "merits" of things that have only "demerits" that I have learned to let errors have their chance much more fully than they deserve. An error is always its own worst enemy.

All this may easily become a mere counsel of perfection. Any sensible father knows that there are some ideas that should not be given to children until they are well enough settled in truth to deal with them. At the earliest stages of Christian thinking there is no

sense in bewildering believers with errors. They deserve to be protected until their roots have struck deep enough to withstand adverse winds.

The issue arises with the passing of that stage of infancy. These errors and differences are extant. In a given life they may never be met, but the odds are immense that they will become matters of concern soon or late. A very earnest worker in north China spoke of his unwillingness to expose his prospective Christian leaders to the influences in certain institutions, adding that he would as soon give a razor to a child as to let certain books fall into their hands. It reminded me of the protest of a godly woman in America against allowing theological students to read divergent books or even permitting them to be in the seminary libraries. She would rather they did not know of their existence, much less know their contents. A visitor to one seminary let it be known clearly that he never allowed himself to read any of this "pernicious literature" in the field of religion, by which he meant the divergent writings of professed believers.

There is nothing easy about this problem. Men are trustees for the faith of others within certain limits; the question is about the limits. Moreover, there is a range of error that roots in folly, exploded theories which deserve nothing but oblivion. Teachers or mature believers may well spare new minds from being sullied with it. True liberty does not suggest wandering over waste places because they are open to one's feet. Further, there are later periods for such troublesome investigations, and they may wisely be delayed and not undertaken in the first joy of a new faith. All these facts are clear enough not to need argument.

Still the problem persists. How far can mission-

aries wisely " protect " the native Church in the midst of religious and theological differences among professed Christians? When do they pass the point of protection and become an enfeebling process? The Christian faith does not prosper under repression of mind or discussion.

One result of the sincere effort to safeguard the nascent Church is the drawing of lines among native believers that are even more marked than in western lands. The rank and file of the Church there, as here, is conservative in its theology, partly from conviction independently reached, partly because of the guidance of missionaries who are prevailingly conservative. But there, as here, educational institutions prevailingly take another position, less conservative, though not always " liberal " in the debated sense of the word. Earnest efforts are made in some places to provide places of training where nothing but sound teaching shall ever occur and where errors shall be presented not as matters for discussion but as matters for condemnation. But it is noticeable that the missionaries or those whom they have immediately trained are the ones who determine what are errors and what is sound teaching. So it comes back to the former question of " protecting " the nascent leadership of the Church by foreign guidance.

It has become an acute problem the world around: how shall the Christian faith be given its fair chance in an intellectually bewildered world? And everywhere there are groups who seek to give that chance by shutting away everything that endangers it until it has gained its rootage, and other groups who take the more daring line, admittedly the more dangerous also, of facing the discussions and errors openly and frankly.

With infants of the faith it is as difficult as with intellectual infants anywhere. But the senior secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, after his recent visit to Korea, wrote of the passing of "the old simplicity and childlikeness of mind" in that land, adding that there is no use in bewailing it, since "there is no help for it," for "the gates are open and the thoughts that are common to mankind are pouring in." He adds, what many earnest men feel with him:

> The Korean Church must open its mind to take in all that is true and it must grow strong in distinguishing for itself between what is true and what is false and in battling for the truth against error. Woe to any missionaries who mislead the Church at a time like this or imperil truth by unwittingly, however honestly, binding it to error.[8]

This warning applies to error on either side of any discussion. It does not suggest yielding supinely to error; it merely warns against trying to hand truth over to the new Church after one has decided what that Church ought to accept. In extreme youth one may accept a faith; later one must achieve it. There is no escape for an infant Church from the struggle by which alone the Christian faith thrives. It is often costly, and wiser leaders may well spare as much cost as possible in the process. But the battles have to be fought as the day comes. It is not necessary for the present Church in China or India or Africa to fight the battles of Europe of the sixteenth century, but it must not be protected from facing the issues of the twentieth century.

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[8] *Deputation Report on Japan and China,* presented to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, p. 67.

V

THE INSTITUTIONAL STAGE IN MISSIONS

IT cannot be too often said that the primary purpose of the missionary enterprise is to make Jesus Christ known throughout the world. It is introductory to the total Christian movement which seeks to realize the Kingdom of God on earth. One report presented to the Montevideo Conference of 1925, on evangelical work in Latin America, opens with this significant paragraph:

The supreme end of the Church's existence in the world is that through her agency the prayer of Christ, "Thy Kingdom come," may be realized. All admit that the goal of the divine purpose in the world, whether that goal be reached suddenly by a cataclysm, or gradually by the leavening of human society by the gospel of Christ, is the establishment of an ideal order of human relationship. Such a goal can be realized only when two conditions are fulfilled: first, when the lives of men fulfil the divine ideal, and again, when the relations of men with their fellows fulfil the principle of Christ, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." In other words, the Christian ideal includes both the redemption of individuals and the redemption of society.

This implies that Jesus Christ as He is cannot be made known by a mere passing evangelism. Institutions will inevitably arise in which His love and purpose can be expressed. It is not the business of

missions as such to do all that the resulting Church may do, but it is its business to lay lines along which development may occur and to make the ultimate task of the Church clear at its very beginning.

It is sheer common-sense to do this. The task of reaching all the people or all the area of a non-Christian land with the Christian message at the hands of foreigners is impossible. It must be done by those who are of the land itself. The practicable method will be for them to gather in central and accepted locations for conference and preparation. It will be natural also to provide places where the needy may find help, coming to the Christian helper without waiting for him to come to them.

In practice, the institutions which form around the missionary enterprise have been educational, medical, philanthropic and industrial. A visitor is impressed with developments in all these lines, painfully inadequate to the ultimate need but arresting in their present state. The enterprise in many places has reached the institutional stage of Christian development with all the values and difficulties of that stage. There is vast need still for the simpler personal processes of the work; nothing can take the place of them at the beginning nor later. But one of the large problems of the growing enterprise is the growth and demands of these varied institutions.

I

1. Educational institutions are inevitable wherever the Christian religion is intelligently, and not superstitiously, grasped. In most fields they did not appear first in the lowest grades but in the grouping of potential leaders of the coming Church in theological training

classes. In some fields, as with Alexander Duff in India, higher institutions were developed very early, so that the knowledge familiar to Western Christianity might argue for the faith itself. At other points the need for educating the children of the new converts started the movement, with added institutions as the children developed. The number and variety of educational institutions is now very large, ranging from kindergartens to fully developed universities, many of them comparing favourably in equipment and standards with similar institutions in the sending lands. They are often charged with denationalizing their students because so much of the higher instruction has to be given in English or some European language, for lack of vernacular textbooks and other literature in modern subjects.

An official in Japan said smilingly to me: "Of course we are not anxious to have our Japanese children turned into little Americans." However, in the Hindu University at Benares, English is freely used, specially in scientific work, and to a more limited degree in the Moslem University at Aligarh. In most of the larger institutions of China it has been demanded. One of these universities set out definitely to do its work in Chinese, struck by the common-sense of doing so, but it has had to yield to the pressure of its own students and graduates, who find themselves behind others for lack of the literature and methods necessarily associated with English speech.

I visited the Baptist college at Shanghai the day after a debate had been held on the campus on this matter. The authorities had welcomed a student facing of the issue whether missionary institutions tend to denationalize their students. At the close of the debate, the

verdict of the audience was strongly against the charge. Several students testified that they had attended both government and mission colleges and had heard more about patriotism and had had it more fully impressed in the latter than the former. There must be unfortunate and unwise workers who have had school children celebrate the Fourth of July, for I heard of it all around the world as " a practice of missionary schools," but I could not find the source of it; all the teachers I met laughed at the folly of such a practice. Certainly students of mission schools have been conspicuous leaders in most of the Chinese patriotic uprisings.

2. Medical institutions—hospitals, medical colleges, nurses' training schools—are developing in many lands. They grow out of obvious need for full expression of the religion of Christ. The first medical missionaries made the care of the working force their primary aim, but this important duty was soon overreached by the service of neglected disease and suffering among the nationals. Medical work is sometimes spoken of as a preparation for the Gospel or " an entering wedge " for the Gospel. But medical missionaries reject the suggestion and rightly insist that it is the work of the Gospel itself and no mere preparation or commendation for some further worker. The institutions accommodate themselves to the need they aim to supply, but their grade is always rising, until some of them are doing such scholarly work as commands attention around the world. At the head is the great Peking Union Medical College, which is not a missionary institution but holds an intimate relation to missionary medical work, and was established and is supported by western funds. After it, in India and other lands are medical institutions that do credit to the profession,

while even the little wayside hospitals and dispensaries and training schools are bringing the Gospel of Christ to bear on multitudes of lives. It is no more practicable there than here to do the best medical work in private homes; indeed, it is immeasurably less practicable because there is no intelligent understanding of what is being attempted. If medical help is to be given, if the "temple of the Holy Spirit" is to be cared for as truly as the spirit of man, there must be hospitals, schools, and all other institutions that go along with intelligent medical care.

3. Philanthropic agencies, such as orphanages, homes for the aged, the friendless, the incurable, lepers, the insane, the blind, arise inevitably wherever the Gospel of Christ is understood. New societies often begin their work with the solemn vow that their workers will do nothing but "preach the simple Gospel," but they have not thus far been able in any case to avoid the complicating effects of the "simple Gospel" in their own hearts. No believer can pass children in distress day after day without yearning to relieve them.

A very ignorant advocate of the "simple Gospel" duty of the missionary once said to me (of course in America): "Why do not the missionaries call the attention of the regular orphanages and hospitals to these cases instead of trying to care for them themselves?" I hope missionaries in many lands may see this question, that they may realize the ignorance with which the home force has to deal. There are no "regular orphanages and hospitals"; that is just the trouble. There are sickness and disease and limitation in all lands, but in Christian lands it is always under attack. In others it is accepted.

During my own visit to India an earnest young man

at the close of the lecture raised the question whether the effort to prevent babies from being born blind was not immoral in itself; since this blindness must have been a punishment on them for sins committed in a previous incarnation, preventing it was interference with the moral order. When a teacher in a Christian university in China told the story of the Good Samaritan, a keen young Chinese was much amused at the scheme of giving the inn-keeper a little money with a promise of more when the traveller returned, since this got the injured man off his hands; of course he would never return. When it was urged that this was not the point, he remained sceptical, asking: " But what business was it of his? Did not the man merely reap the fruit of his own sin? "

Care of the helpless, not of one's own family or race, is always a mystery to a non-Christian spirit. Even in America it seems chimerical to some. Yet so natural is it in missionary lives that one mission board has had to raise a warning voice lest its missionaries burden their own homes unduly with deserted and neglected children adopted from among the people around them. Special societies have sometimes undertaken this philanthropic work for the distressed, as in the Home for Homeless and Friendless Indian Women at Calcutta, allied to a series of such homes in India, independent of any formal board control.

In most of the missionary area the pressure of poverty is so heavy that assuming the burden of others, for whom one is not directly responsible, is almost impossible, though it is sometimes beautifully done. The chasm between rich and poor is very wide, and need is so common that doles of charity are limited and always inadequate. The insane are seldom cared for; the

blind, the helpless, wander about in many lands, sometimes befriended for merit's sake, only rarely taken in and permanently cared for. The Christian faith could not be true to the spirit of its Master if it did not take such need to its heart. One of the assurances that it is more fully understood in our own day is that we ourselves have only just now brought it to bear on these areas of need.

4. Industrial enterprises in agriculture, self-supporting industries, printing and other trades, have developed naturally in connection with the desire of Christian believers to live more worthy lives. The occasional settlements and institutes in some cities would be included here. Living conditions are not suitable in the Far East except for the most favoured. The villages of India, China, and Siam, reveal some beautiful and desirable conditions, but most are impossible for the Christian spirit. It is sometimes assumed in the West that Eastern people have been tilling their soil for so long that they can learn nothing from the West. It proves to be a mistake.

Every investigation of which I could learn, in India and China and elsewhere, reveals that life could be made vastly easier and worthier by adopting better ways of tilling the soil, caring for crops, introducing better breeds of animals and readjusting human and animal toil. In one section of China I saw the figures of a large area showing that while each family kept a work bullock, yet the method of farming was such that the bullock worked only thirty-one days in a year, standing idle and "eating his head off" during the other eleven months. Proposals for change ran into age-long traditions, but when adventurous souls tried it, they found the new methods so much more resultful

that the level of life was lifted. A British civil officer told me that the introduction of a better breed of fowls had changed the living level of a whole section in India. The new tools and methods developed at Allahabad have been recognized widely as having in them potency for better living in the region.

The Christian faith arouses desires for one's family and its surroundings that make these economic conditions unendurable. In a manufacturing city of India I learned that a large mill had established two "model villages" for its workers, with better accommodations than were otherwise available. The owners claimed this was on economic grounds, to lessen the "turnover" in their labour. The villages contained three grades of houses, rising in cost until the best were fairly expensive for that region. Among the workers was a small percentage of Christians, not distinguished for better work nor for higher pay, and not conspicuous among the others. But it was found that all the best grade houses had been taken by these Christians for their families. It was by no plan of the company, for the fact was not known until after it was accomplished, nor was it because they were better able to pay the higher rate, for they were not. The manager said he supposed they might save enough by the omission of gambling and drinking and other social evils to pay for the better accommodations. But this instinctive desire to improve one's economic condition makes the development of industrial institutions and programs inevitable.

The hope for a self-supporting church is involved here. When life is lived on such a narrow margin that there is not enough even for necessities, how can enough be found to meet the demands of institutional

religion? We spent the early hours of one Sabbath in Bangkok watching the yellow-robed Buddhist priests going about from door to door begging their food and receiving it as a favour to donors, because of the merit gained in making the gifts. The question naturally arose as to the new burden assumed by Christian believers in supporting ministers and other workers and the whole round of church work—an unknown thing in Buddhism and Hinduism. The mass of the population live on the border of want and unless economic and industrial conditions can be improved it is no kindness to add further burdens. The Asansol Conference of January, 1927, faced this condition:

We cannot expect a fully self-supporting Church in India as long as the great mass of Christians continue in their present poverty. Surveys of economic conditions in villages will help us to understand this economic limitation. The Church should continue and greatly emphasize the development of co-operative credit societies, cottage industries, vocational education, poultry farming, health education, agricultural schools and employment bureaus as factors in economic advance and independence, and should oppose excessive expenditures on festivals and marriages, and the use of narcotics and intoxicants.[1]

Few Westerners naturally think of these operations as part of the duty of the Church, but they are unavoidable if the Church maintains its ideals.

The Christian group starts at the lower levels in most countries, and it is there that the grind of poverty is heaviest. Yet it is these least able people who find themselves part of a new brotherhood with new re-

[1] *International Review of Missions,* July, 1927, p. 389.

sponsibilities and burdens. The costs of education fall on them, for they quickly become ambitious for the improvement of their children. Mission schools have many schemes for self-help—rug weaving, fancy work, carpentering, and the like. In several instances whole new industries have been introduced for the sake of improving the self-supporting power of the new Christian group. The extent of such work is suggested by the " object " of the Industrial Missions Aid Society in London:

To make it possible for native Christians to live without being pauperized, when they are otherwise boycotted; to make it possible for the sons and daughters of native Christians to be taught and trained, without engaging themselves to idolatrous employers; to lessen the cost of supporting famine orphans, child widows, and others in homes and schools, in which they may be enabled to devote some part of the day to remunerative work, according to their age and capabilities; and to dispose of the work thus produced. The society receives and disposes of much of the embroidery, needlework, carved wood, carpets, rugs, etc., from over forty different mission stations in China, India, Palestine, Armenia, Africa, West Indies, etc.

We found several excellent buildings paid for out of profits of such work, by which at the same time students had supported themselves.

II

All this seems entirely logical and necessary. Yet it it beset with serious difficulties and greatly complicates the theoretically simple missionary program. From a distance the duty of the missionary seems to be to go to a waiting and needy people and tell them the good

news of the love of God in Christ. He sets out with that idea, adjured not to undertake anything else. But presently his friends hear that he is teaching mathematics or managing an orphanage or a leper asylum, or doing something that sounds remote from the simple errand that took him out. At home some rejoice in it; that is what they believe in. An uninformed man once told me in America that if the missionaries would go out and help the people to have better homes and cure their diseases and teach their children, he would be back of them, but he did not think much of holding prayer-meetings and trying all the while to convert people! It would have enlightened him to discover how many missionaries wish they had more time for what he thinks they are doing all the time. On the other hand, some supporters at home fail to recognize the logical path such things follow, and that they become inevitable as the truth of Christ is better known. However, it is not at home but on the field and in the midst of the enterprise itself that the main difficulties lie.

1. These institutions become the conspicuous and often the troublesome features of the work. There they are, prominent buildings in obvious locations, their students or inmates passing always in plain sight. The little groups of believers, even their places of worship, might be overlooked, but these schools, colleges, hospitals, cannot be missed. They are foreign to the life of the community; nothing of the kind had been there until they appeared. In most cases, because of the people they must accommodate, they are larger than anything else in the place, and ordinarily they suggest, if they do not definitely express, foreign architecture and style. Their methods are foreign, in the nature of the

case, because there are no native methods in their line. No modern hospital or college can be operated according to Siamese or African lines, because there are no such lines native to either country. Even the governmental colleges and universities of China are essentially Western in organization and appearance. Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Tagore have developed schools in the native style, but even so anyone could trace foreign influence in them.

All these institutions, no matter how they are manned, nor what their language, necessarily emphasize the " foreignness " of the enterprise with which they are connected. In the upheaval in China, one of the first points of attack was the schools; their buildings were taken over for barracks, their campuses commandeered for camps, their equipment thrown into chaos. Partly this was because they are larger and more quickly available than other buildings and lands, but partly it is because they typify to common minds the presence of the foreigner. They are constantly used in argument because they represent so much money to simple observers. An anti-foreign poster widely circulated in China in early 1926 used this language:

Fellow-Countrymen! Do you think these foreign imperialists would send all this gold into our land for the building up of schools, for the establishment of churches and hospitals, without some scheme for gain? That is a false belief! Schools are the camps of cultural invasion. See the evil before your eye! What school omits the reading of the Christian Bible, fails to observe Christian ceremonial, to pray, to baptize, and to carry on all these church affairs? In the interior, too, all these preachers with their prayer and

praise are really fooling the country people, bringing in capitalistic influences, serving to unite bandits, secretly importing machine guns.[2]

There is not a touch of humour about this, though it is difficult to think that the authors really believe it. They do know, however, that the evidence of something suspicious exists before the very eyes of the people.

If it is suggested that these same "plants" in mission lands furnish evidence in favour of the enterprise, the point is well taken. They are a great asset, though even here they sometimes give a mistaken impression of the unlimited funds that must be back of the work. It is here, and in missionary homes, that the contrast between the Christian faith and other faiths seems most visible to the naked eye.

2. The cost of these institutions is a serious difficulty. Dr. Roswell D. Hitchcock once said that when a college in America ceased to ask for more money, it was dead. Few are dead! Western colleges call for much more money than missionary institutions would dare to ask. But the demands for advance and increase are just as real and as persistent among missionary schools, colleges, hospitals, industries, as in sending countries. In certain lines there is aid from the field, for this is the place where fees are directly charged. The shoe often pinches here, for the idea spreads that missionaries are profiting by the payments made. But it is no more possible there than here for a school or hospital to carry itself on its current income under normal conditions. Several times I heard of schools that

[2] See fully in *Report of Deputation to Japan and China,* Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, 1927, p. 135.

were " self-supporting," only to have it added, " Except, of course, for the salaries of the missionary workers." This is like saying that a school in America is supported from its fees except that its most expensive salaries are provided from endowment. Hospitals in some locations do carry themselves and in rare instances might carry the support of their missionary staff, but this is not common. Instead, the tendency of institutional life as a whole is to drain the mission appropriations.

So marked is this, that many colleges and universities on the mission field, having become union institutions because no one mission could carry the load, have established independent collecting and financing agencies in America and England and no longer look to the regular funds of mission boards for their support. It sometimes happens that the budget of a single university is as large as that of a small mission board. This multiplies agencies that appeal for funds, many of them appealing at the same doors. It also tends to accent the " foreignness " of the institutions, no matter how eagerly they seek to transfer control to national hands, since most of them are chartered under American or British laws. Large institutions become impossible burdens on mission funds which carry other responsibilities. And they tend steadily to make heavier demands, as institutions do in the West. Solomon's " horse-leach's daughters," who constantly cry, " Give, give! " are voiceless, undemanding souls compared with a growing, aggressive institution in mission lands. Boards are constantly put to it to do justly by them and by the other lines of work.

This burden of cost is a serious factor in progress toward self-support and self-government by the native

Church. The institutions are projected on so large a plan that the native Church cannot hope to attain to it for decades. President E. H. Hume says:

As the day draws near when missionaries from the West shall have diminished administrative powers, and the Chinese Church shall take charge of all forms of Christian activity, there is found a shrinking from responsibility for the large, often cumbersome, physical plants and material organization which the Western worker has introduced, and a greater desire to get at the heart of the Christian experience.[8]

3. The increasing absorption of personnel in institutions is a serious difficulty. Many of the ablest foreign and an even larger percentage of similar native personnel is sure to be taken for this type of work. An institution simply has to be kept going, once it is started and becomes a recognized agency of the enterprise. Evangelistic work, house-to-house visitation, touring, even writing of Christian literature, can be laid aside if necessary, but a school or a college, which needs teachers or supervision, is almost of the nature of a contract. There are the students, trusted to the institution by their parents; there are native teachers to be aided or supported in their work. Available national help naturally decreases as the grade of the school rises. The result is that workers of all sorts are drawn in from their other lines to man these institutions. Field experience shows them to be so important that most workers are glad to put their lives into them, but not even a missionary can care for a school as it deserves and carry on extensive touring which takes him away from his station most of the time. A school teacher on

[8] *International Review of Missions*, July, 1927.

the mission field has many more responsibilities than a teacher at home and has little strength left for other tasks. The result is that in many stations the institutions absorb the lion's share of the personnel. In centres like Shanghai, the number of workers engaged in administration and institutional work far outruns those engaged in evangelistic or usual missionary work.

There need be no complaint about this on purely evangelistic grounds, for of course a school or a hospital furnishes a magnificent opportunity for evangelism. Some were founded for that purpose. But there are other lines that need to be followed, and these institutional lines absorb workers incredibly. Many boards view with hesitation proposals to establish another school or hospital or organized institution which will make increasing demands on the available force. The effect on the national personnel is even more disturbing. The very best men among the native Christians are seldom working in the thick of the struggle where the faith is propagated. Instead, they are in institutions, doing regulation work with students who come to them. The outlying work often needs them sorely, but it can ordinarily supply neither the standing nor the income that is possible in a college or university. This seems incident to the institutional development and its demand for the best personnel.

4. The constant demand for institutional expansion is a difficulty. Even if it did not involve more money and more personnel, the difficulty would remain, for it means a constant plasticity in conditions which tend to grow fixed. The change of program and standards must occur in the minds of experienced workers already in charge or else it must require new workers who displace the old. Either process is complicating. Stand-

ards are rising everywhere in all forms of institutional life. When one sees the desperate need in mission lands for just any kind of a hospital, and for any degree of education at all, it seems almost ridiculous to have prohibitive standards set up by impotent governments who cannot do the work but who put hindrances in the way of those who are at least doing something. In one country, in particular, I felt that in presence of the ignorance and absurdly limited provision for education the government ought to welcome anybody who would come and teach on any level, whereas rigid restrictions were being placed on educational efforts.

The demand for expansion and raising of standards comes from three sources. *a*. The newly awakened governments are increasing their demands. Theory in the Far East makes education a government function and there is little provision for the private initiative and achievement which have been the glory of the West. A single fact is suggestive of the change which has come in the Far East. It was reported to the Christian Conference at Shanghai in 1922 that:

> A quarter of a century ago modern education was in the hands of the Christian body. Today Christian education is but one-twentieth of the total amount of modern education in China; while the rapid improvement in the standard of government education is making imperative a similar raising of standards in Christian education, if it is to retain even its present position.

This new sense of responsibility for the training of the young possesses the imagination of most governments more markedly than any other one duty. Vigorous effort is made both to raise the standards of educa-

tion and also to bring the whole process more fully under the hand of the government itself. Rigorous standardization has been developed. Most institutions are hedged about by a growing body of restrictions and standards. Many of the requirements are sensible and practicable from the Western point of view. Others are paper rules framed for an ideal situation, incapable of full application and constantly waived in government institutions themselves. These standards cover such matters as buildings, equipment, courses, freedom from all forms of direct religious instruction, native direction, examinations, rights of further study in registered institutions, right to receive teachers' certificate or other official recognition. They have resulted in closing many schools, perhaps to the benefit of education abstractly considered, but certainly to the loss of young people who are not otherwise provided for. They have resulted also, no doubt, in the improvement of many institutions. The movement for standardization is prevalent around the world, nowhere more marked than in America. No complaint is made about it, except that there as here it is making education much more difficult, and there, at least, the need is so urgent that restraint is regrettable.

b. Happily, the new believers are demanding the raising of standards and increasing equipment. They want the best they can get for their children. It is no more possible in mission lands than in America to carry an educational or medical institution merely on its Christian name if it is not the equal of other institutions that bear no such name. Many Christian parents send their children to non-Christian schools, when they are available, if they have reason to think it will be to their advantage in later life. Meanwhile, they feel that

their new faith must do whatever it does a little better than anyone else does it. A starveling, inadequate school bearing the name of Christ is no more a pride to Christian nationals in Cairo or Canton than in Chicago or Glasgow. A poorly equipped hospital in which infections occur for lack of antiseptic provision may bring more discredit on the Christian faith than all its cures can overcome. A native doctor poorly trained and equipped for his work may need to stand alongside a well-trained native doctor trained elsewhere, and if he fails in the test, his religion is discredited. Intelligent nationals see this and want the work well done or not done at all in the name of Christianity.

c. The missionaries themselves demand improved institutions. They do not want anything but the best that is possible. In an early, primitive day, crude things would do, and were made to do. Operating rooms were like the first laboratories at Johns Hopkins University, mere makeshifts, better than nothing. School equipment was like that of early colleges in America, mostly under the hat of the teacher. But as the level of life lifts, these things have to pass. If governments and native believers did not demand it, foreign workers would do so. New groups are always coming out and are accustomed to home conditions; it disturbs them to find primitive, inadequate conditions persisting in a new day; they do not like to spend themselves in programs or courses which are out of date and faulty when new things could be developed. All this constantly disturbs the missionary forces. Old things have to pass away; it is hard to make them do so, for there as here they are closely intertwined with history and existing hearts.

The value of this expansion of existing institutions

is qualitative and real, but it brings the program forward less observably than some other lines of service. There are always workers who discount it for that reason. In recent years it has been so demanding that sentiment on the field has divided. A common thought among conservative missionaries is expressed by a veteran, who writes of the 1927 disturbances in China:

I hope that one result, at least, may be the elimination of much that they say is missionary work, "but it is not," and the restriction of missionary activities to those things that have a direct relation to evangelistic work. We have been carrying on extensive and expensive enterprises which, while good in themselves, are not proper objects of missionary work. Let those things which are shaken be removed that the things which are not shaken may remain.

This is by no means a universal sentiment, but it is influential in many places. In several instances missions have insisted upon setting off overshadowing institutions lest other lines of work be crippled. This constitutes a difficulty both on the field and at home.

5. The most serious single difficulty lies in the tendency of institutions anywhere to become ends in themselves rather than means to an end. That is no more true on the mission field than here at home. It is difficult to keep a college or any institution linked up to a larger enterprise or a wider program. For years Church-founded and Church-supported American colleges have tended to break away and form other alliances, feeling that the connection restricts their freedom. They mean to prepare young people "for life," but do not welcome any determination of the

type of life for which they shall be prepared. Virtually all the colleges on the mission field were founded to advance the missionary program, but there as here as they grow larger and stronger they render less direct service to the enterprise. The other forces often remark it. There are colleges in mission lands which furnish no leadership to the Christian cause year after year, many instructors having little sympathy with the missionary movement in its regular and accepted features. This occasionally arouses a spirit of separation, repeating the unhappy cleavage in many college and university communities in America, a local church and an institution pulling apart. The cleavage is theological or scientific or disciplinary, precisely as it is here. Missionaries have warned students not to attend institutions founded by and supported by their own missions, just as pastors in America have warned youths not to attend colleges maintained by their own churches. A few instructors in colleges on the mission field have made open declaration that their purpose is not the winning of men to the Christian faith, adding that they would be satisfied to make them worthier representatives of whatever faith they held, the distinctive and unique character of the Christian faith not being admitted. This sounds familiar to anyone who has followed the course of institutional life in America.

The difficulty is increased by the fact that the larger part of the work of all these institutions is done for non-Christians. Exact figures are not available, but in general Christians in the various missionary colleges and institutions average about fifteen per cent of the enrollment, leaving eighty-five per cent non-Christian. Once in a while one reports an entire Christian enrollment, as an occasional college does in America, but the

rule is far the other way. A recent survey of Christian education in Japan contains this paragraph:

Among applicants for the Middle School Courses (Academy grade) very few come from Christian homes. The percentage is very rarely as high as ten per cent, often as low as four or five per cent. And even in college grade work those who enter, while somewhat more familiar with Christianity, very rarely have had much training in Christian living and thinking, except as they have been students of Christian schools during their academy days.[4]

This should be recognized at once as an immense evangelistic opportunity. Often it is so used. But the immediate task of class-room and campus is as absorbing there as here, and there is no more ground for wonder that this opportunity is often neglected than that a young man can come through a Christian college in America without facing the Christian decision. I asked the principal of one missionary middle school how many of his students were Christians; he thought about twenty-five out of the two hundred. "We have to remember," he added, "that our business here is education, not evangelism; we leave that to the churches." Few missionary principals would agree with him, but many teachers in America follow that rule.

We must insist that Christian colleges render an immense service for the Christian faith even if their graduates do not accept Christ during their courses. The chairman of one of my lecture meetings in India was the Moslem mayor of the city. When he summed up the lecture, he said that he welcomed this statement

[4] *The Christian Movement in Japan*, 1925, p. 192.

of the Christian faith though he maintained his Moslem position that one must profess that religion for salvation. Then he added earnestly that he had had some hours of real unrest about such a belief, caused by his experience with certain teachers in the Christian college which he had attended, whose lives and characters were above reproach, who were living in India for India's sake, unselfishly, and who traced all their power not to Mohammed but to Jesus Christ. He asked what a moral universe would do with such men in the Day of Judgment, and frankly added that he could not be so sure of his earlier conviction when he thought of them. I saw several instances of this effect of Christian environment and example on men who had not yet yielded to all that it means. The far-reaching influence of missionary colleges must not be disregarded. Lecturing at the Hindu University at Benares, I asked the Vice-Provost presiding at the meeting whether Christian students would be admitted to its privileges. He replied, " Certainly. When you admit Hindus so freely to your institutions, it would be strange for us not to be equally generous."

As early as the time of Alexander Duff, in India, 1829-1878, the value of Christian colleges which did not produce Christians was a live question. He himself reviewed his work as it neared its close in these terms:

As far as education, in its most comprehensive sense, is concerned, the whole energy of my life has been devoted to the attempt to have it impregnated throughout all its departments, whether of literature, science or philosophy, with the living spirit of Christianity. . . . And even though, in the vast majority of cases, no actual conversion ensues, good unspeakable has been

gained by multitudes, and seeds have been profusely sown, which, when India is visited by the long-expected and long-prayed-for showers of grace, will spring up with a sudden and glorious harvest.

If nothing else were accomplished, such education makes it clear that the Christian religion is allied to modern knowledge and learning and does not bind the minds of men to whom it appeals. It is the one religion which has come into the modern day with the full light of all modern knowledge upon it, the only religion which does not need to adapt its phraseology and practices to the new conditions, because it has already done it. The Christian faith is habituated to the new day. If some of its adherents view this with concern, it is none the less a fact. The offer of education in mission lands in the name of the Christian faith to all and sundry is significant of its attitude towards truth.

But this does not alter the wisdom of keeping the institutions true to their fundamental purpose of commending the gospel of Christ to the world. The difficulty is increased at the home end by the fact that such institutions are attractive to supporters who have no abiding interest in their historic purpose. Money is more easily secured for hospitals and colleges from passively religious or non-religious agencies and groups than for formal mission work. Workers will often go for brief terms to them who would not go into mission work of any other sort. In the public mind they are identified with missionaries but not in their own minds. A young foreigner on a Pacific steamer was known to have been in the Far East for a term of years. He was naturally asked if he had been a missionary. "Not on your life!" he exclaimed. "I was a teacher of science." Yet he had been teaching in a college

which owed its origin and support and existence to missions. It has already been pointed out that this condition increases the difficulty of personnel. But surely no argument is needed that the institutions of the Christian movement should be kept in harmony with the movement itself, in mission and in Christian lands. Their divergence from it across the sea is no more reason for disquiet than their divergence from it here. But the difficulty needs to be frankly faced.

III

These difficulties do not warrant the slightest opposition to nor regret over the coming of the institutional stage in the missionary enterprise. They can all be safeguarded by a sufficiently strong faith and a persistent brotherhood in the working force. Missionaries in institutional life will need an equally clear vision of the whole work and a sense of alliance with it all. The stress is no greater in either group than in the home lands, and they can surely see how little is gained and how much is lost by cleavages here. Nobody helps a trying situation by standing off from it in critical spirit. The criticism of friends may help; the criticism of opponents is discounted before it is given.

In some lands institutional development is now beyond the ability of the native Church and beyond its immediate needs. For a time yet foreigners will have to maintain, if not control, the situation. There is no more delicate problem than the transfer of real responsibility in these institutions. Yet the principle, both of the development itself and of the ultimate national responsibility, is logical. And this constitutes one of the serious aspects of the matter. This large

institutional development will undoubtedly delay the transfer of control of Christian work to national hands. There are many who will sympathize with the word of Dr. Robert E. Speer, himself a warm helper of institutional life:

Are we doing right in allying our missionary program so much to financial support, in conceiving its developments and proportions in terms of available funds for the work and maintenance of work and institutions, in making money investments in one form or another which compel consequences in missionary policy, which inevitably involve grave educational influence upon the native Church, and which impose elements of permanency upon activities which should conceive themselves as transitory and preparatory? I am not saying that money is not needed and should not be given. But I do raise the definite question whether there is not needed in many fields a new group of missionaries who will not employ anybody or who will not require anything but their own personal support and funds to go from place to place. I believe that we ought to project a far greater mass of missionary work of a type that will not have to be subsidized.

Christianity will always bless multitudes who never acknowledge it personally. Christ spoke of the fact that God sends His rain on the just and on the unjust, though the unjust theoretically did not deserve any such kindness. He said that this must become the theory of His followers. Any effort to restrict the blessings of the Christian movement to those who accept its demands runs foul of this principle of Christ. The Christian current enriches wherever it runs. Mr. A. M. Chirgwin, writing in *The London Quarterly Re-*

view, April, 1927, lays stress on the pervasive presence of ideas among those who make no profession of the Christian faith, ideas propagated by Christian schools and other institutions in which rich Christian service is rendered and then allowed to make its own argument. This is a difficult assurance for most believers—that religious truth can be left to make its own way when it is set free. The institutions of the Christian faith have superb opportunity to release such truth. Then it may be trusted to do its work.

It will not be the duty of the distinctively missionary phase of the Christian movement to carry such institutions to their final completion. The Christian program is merely started, set up, put in motion, by missionary work. Gradually the movement passes out of its missionary phase, but when it does so it should be faced in the right direction and should be in essence all that it has to become in expression. The native Church must not be called to undo anything that missions have done. These institutions are, therefore, legitimate parts of the missionary enterprise, as legitimate as churches and Sunday schools. If they overload other phases, that is a fault to be corrected. But if zeal for the more direct elements of missionary work should lead to denial of its institutional aspects, that would be another fault to be corrected, and in the long run would prove a very serious one. All missionary programs that have lasted have come to the institutional stage soon or late. They may have begun without it or even in protest against it, but they find themselves presently concerned with a vital principle of their own message, expressing itself in suitable organizations.

VI

WHEN THE WORKERS DIFFER

THE force of the missionary enterprise falls into three parts: the sustaining group at home, the administrative group at home and on the field, and the operating group on the field. It would be neither wise nor possible for the members of this large force to be always agreed. Differences may arise between any two groups or within the ranks of any one of them. In connection with the operating force there is also a large native element, not part of the essentially missionary aspect of the Christian movement, but more important than some of the missionary aspects and naturally providing possibilities of difference. We are just now concerned principally with the differences that most closely affect or arise within the foreign operating force. Most of them are handled in the best of spirit, as Christian people would handle them.

1. The differences are similar to those that occur in home work. People who go to the mission field are just ordinary human beings. Many godly men have traits that keep them from being mixable or cooperative under normal conditions. The abnormal conditions of the mission field tend to magnify these traits. Dr. Charles Hodge once declared the Holy Spirit can live with a great many people with whom he himself could not get along. It is no proof of badness or of unspiritual nature when certain types of men do not get on well together, though it is sure to cause dis-

comfort and limitation. The differences occurring on the mission field are merely more noticeable and more often disastrous than when they occur at home.

The China disturbances of 1869 were very costly in Western lives. Sir Rutherford Alcock, the British minister in Peking, argued strongly against the extension of mission work because of the many "grave differences between the Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries," of which he gave "unseemly instances." He added that Protestant missionaries quarrelled with each other. The whole tone of the discussion at that time reminds one how much the missionary enterprise has gained in these years. It was contemptuously treated in parliamentary debates. The argument about differences was fully answered, but not by denying their reality. One notable difference was described by the defenders, and comment was made that "it was confined to the missionaries themselves. Neither the government nor the people of China knew anything about it. Even the converts were not affected by it." But unless things have changed a great deal since 1869 it was a mistake to say that the Chinese and the converts knew nothing about a difference among the foreign workers. Many of them probably knew a great deal about it, as they always do now. Differences are understood at home as belonging to human experience; in mission lands the missionaries are out on an errand of fraternity and love, and divergencies seem like collisions.

2. Many field differences are echoes or repetitions of home conditions. Dr. Griffith John, on furlough from China, found a controversy raging among American Presbyterians over the revision of the Confession of Faith. He wrote to a friend:

I went to hear Blank on Sunday morning. It was a sermon on the Revision, and his aim was to make it out a mutilation and a profanation. I never in my life listened to anything which pained or disappointed me more.[1]

Later in England he found Dr. Dale and Spurgeon exchanging strident opinions on the future condition of the " unevangelized heathen," Dale arguing for their annihilation, Spurgeon for their eternal conscious punishment. It brought almost a missionary split in the British churches. Dr. John said in an address:

I am not going to tell you what my views are: you have no right to ask me, and I am not going to ask you. I am not going to commit myself here tonight at all. I do maintain one thing, however, that in view of these differences of views, I as a missionary have a right to accept that view that God gives me on my knees, and I do protest with all my might against any brother calling me a heretic because I differ from him.[2]

Missionaries try to be intelligent followers of current thought. They cannot be indifferent to what is going on at home. A really sharp cleavage at home is sure to have some expression on the mission field, though the distance tends to make the difference seem the petty thing it often is. If it is serious in itself, it will be repeated in fuller details there.

3. The missionary enterprise has always worked in the presence of differences. An unhappy split took place in the small group in India which started the modern movement. Carey's own nephew and other young men turned against him and his older colleagues.

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[1] R. Wardlaw Thompson, *Griffith John*, p. 374.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 380.

Oddly enough, in this instance the younger men called for more control from the administrative group at home, while the older group demanded less. The sides are ordinarily reversed now! Anyone seriously unsettled by deep and sometimes painful differences in the working force shows plainly that he does not know the history either of the church or of the missionary enterprise. Some differences are a sheer disgrace, but they do not suggest for a moment that the enterprise ought to be checked.

One illustration will show how far back such things run. The translation of the Bible into another tongue is one of the early and essential elements in mission work. Yet in most lands several versions exist, made from different points of view. Shall the effort be to reproduce the language of the original with some literalness, or to reproduce the ideas as fully as possible, even by circumlocutions and paraphrases? A Siamese translating group explained to me that they were making a new translation of the Bible because the one in use is Siamese in language but English in idiom. Only recently the Bible Societies, upon advice of some of the missionaries, have declined to issue a new translation of the Bible into Korean because of its flexible dealing with the original, and it is being issued independently. Up to the present there has been a single Arabic version of the Bible, but I found talk of another by some who felt that this one clings too closely to the original idioms. The discussion in China regarding the word to be used for " God " is historic in the field of philology. One missionary wrote:

This philological discussion, like most discussions of the kind, was carried on with a degree of acrimony on

both sides, and was the cause of a temporary estrangement between certain able, earnest and devoted brethren. It did doubtless interfere to some extent with the peace and harmony of the missionary circle, and so far must have told prejudicially on the highest interests of the work. The discussion was necessary and inevitable; it is only to be regretted that it could not have been carried on without the admixture of human infirmities.

This discussion is not ended. When I mentioned to an experienced missionary that I had heard only one word used for " God " by interpreters, he reminded me that I could not detect the others, which was true. He added that the discussion is by no means over, that the prevailing usage is mistaken and unworthy and must be abandoned and that he was teaching all his students to use the right word. Yet it was this very difference regarding which it was said that the converts knew nothing of it! They could not have missed it. Such discussions ought to be carried on with the best of feeling on both sides, but some men cannot argue a religious question without showing their own need for religion. They are vexed as well as earnest and oppose persons as well as ideas. Anybody in the neighbourhood is certain to know what is going on. I learned first from a Chinese of the effort of the China Continuation Committee to come to an understanding about certain great terms, such as the equivalent for " Holy Catholic Church," " baptism," and their kind. It had to be dropped because it would have split the committee to have adopted what the majority were ready to adopt.

Such differences cannot be new, since Bible translation is old, and the differences inhere in the task itself.

On this account many lands have individual translations. In Western lands these make no great stir; in new lands they are more confusing.

Workers differ most frequently at three points: in temperament and personal ideals, in missionary policy, and in thought of the Christian faith and message. The differences are ordinarily maintained in as good spirit as in home lands. If sometimes they produce unhappy conditions, that is matter for sorrow and correction.

I

Whatever external standards are applied, each missionary is still himself, with his own temperament, his own personal ideals and, what is more important, his own background. No board would ever knowingly send out a "rubber-stamp" worker; indeed, boards have laid so much stress on "qualities of leadership" that this is one of the present problems. The process thus far applied has naturally resulted in sending to the mission field a group of independent minds to whom subordinate service becomes difficult. Maintaining a corporate consciousness is harder because missionaries constitute a regiment of colonels. Examining boards try to secure recruits with co-operative spirit, but few men are really tested on that quality until early maturity. Barring a few egotists, men in their youth are not half so cock-sure as they pretend to be. When one earns a right to an independent, even if different, opinion, the trait of self-assertion easily develops into lack of co-operation. No board or mission would want a worker without it, but self-assertion gone wrong becomes stubbornness. Only inherently strong men are wanted, yet they are the only kind whose refusal to work with others makes any real difference.

A missionary with his early impressions still fresh writes of another line of difficulty:

The manner in which missionary work has been presented in the past has a tendency to draw to it some "queer" people, or people with "sick souls." These people, whose thought life is somewhat unnaturally developed, are very liable to nervous breakdowns in new situations. The call for missionaries must be taken off that unnatural spiritual plane and put on the plane with other calls to a religious life, so that it will attract only healthy-souled people.

It does not take many "temperamental people" in a small group to set everything awry; one or two "sick souls" can disturb a whole station or mission. Some who know they are abnormal feel that they should be humored more or less on that account. One disturbing woman exclaimed: "I know I am over-sensitive, but why can't the others realize that and treat me better?" An older missionary said, "They say I always have to have my own way; if they know that so well, why don't they let me have my own way and save trouble?" Occasionally one tends to sulk or cower or mourn in secret, bearing in public all visible marks of the experience. Of course this works out into inefficiency or trouble soon or late. Yet it is a perfectly familiar home phenomenon, magnified by the smallness of the group and because of the necessity that each member take a whole person's share of the work.[3]

There are fundamental type-differences. Some are expressively spiritual, some reservedly so. At home they are the "prayer-meeting" type and the others, or the intense and the phlegmatic types. One likes a

[3] Arthur J. Brown, *The Foreign Missionary*, Ch. XIII.

great deal of prayer in a meeting; the other does not find it so helpful. Mr. Stanley Studd, of the Cambridge Seven, would shut himself up for two and three days at a time for intercession and meditation. It was wholly natural to him and was immensely helpful and resultful. Others discounted it; for them it would have been abnormal and affected; they thought it must be for him. Pronounced types almost always standardize themselves, and find marked variations necessarily defective. In most missions the two types appear: one seems to the other cold, unspiritual, almost irreligious; the first seems to the second flighty, unsubstantial, emotional. Each feels the deadly chill of non-Christian surroundings, the utter lack of spiritual inflow from any but perfectly familiar sources.

At home one is always liable to a fresh current of inspiration from new books and unusual friends. In mission fields the outgo is not so apt to be compensated by strong spiritual income. The intensely spiritual feel the loss, and the less spiritual are confirmed in the omission. It was this that led to a letter from a young worker who wrote to her mother after a few weeks in her station that she sometimes wondered whether any of her colleagues had been really converted! She soon wished the letter had not been written, but unhappily it had been regretfully shown by her mother to her pastor, and he had regretfully mentioned it to his friends, and it has been a stock story in some quarters ever since. The young woman was of a special spiritual type, not likely to affiliate immediately with a less intense type.

There is a temperament which sees deep significance in slight things and thinks in terms of "what-these-small-beginnings-may-lead-to" regarding every inno-

vation. The late Bishop Cassels, of central China, succeeded in erecting a Procathedral on which his heart had been much set. At the dedication " some flowers were placed within the chancel rails in two handsome vases which had been presented to the bishop." This so offended a teacher of the local Church school that she protested with deep feeling, and in such terms as to rob the occasion of joy for the bishop. He wrote regarding it:

I spent several hours this morning talking to Miss Blank. It was a nice talk and I felt drawn to her. She confessed to being terribly bigoted and she knew how foolish she was, and yet with no special call from the Lord to any other sphere she prefers to close her school and send away the girls to heathen homes rather than ever enter that church again, because the service is not just as she likes, or the arrangements just what she has been accustomed to.[4]

One can almost hear the serious way in which Miss Blank, in turn, would tell her side of the story. She " would not mind the flowers, in themselves, of course, but the time to stop wrong courses is when they begin," and she could not bear to have the Chinese, etc. Missionary readers will smile at this point; they have seen the thing work in other cases. But so have home workers. Men have left churches in America because the minister adopted a robe; they would not tolerate this step toward popery. When an important New York church engaged the services of a quartette instead of a precentor, some people left the church in protest against turning the sanctuary into a concert hall.

The necessary sense of responsibility may sour an

[4] Broomhall, *W. W. Cassels, First Bishop of Western China*, p. 293.

otherwise fine spirit by magnifying small items into significant ones. This can happen anywhere; it is merely worse on the mission field for obvious reasons. It is more apt to happen there also because many missionaries have gone out from somewhat limited experiences in which small things have seemed momentous. One's background and variety of experiences determine it. As the background widens, one learns what large space there is for variety of views and variation of conduct within the true Christian sphere. Molehills become mountains if one's eye is too near them.

When these differences arise, growing out of differing temperaments, three things can be done: the troublesome worker can be brought home, but this sometimes robs the force of a really excellent stimulant or safeguard; or, he may be isolated and allowed to have his own way in some station all his own, but this is not often practicable, and he might be unwilling to accept such an arrangement because he wants to protect the truth; or, he may learn better judgment and seek to win his way as sensible men do the world around, by reason and Christian character. A missionary, who was himself peculiar and unique, has described two divergent workers in his field:

The closer any two bodies act together, the more oil they need. Brother Centrifugal is right only as he is seconded by Brother Centripetal and either dare not balk the other. These two saints get along happily together because soaked deep in their souls was the divine doctrine that God's Church is a complete whole of various temperaments and methods. What kind of music would you have without sharps and flats? [5]

Trying physical climates tend to bring out all the

[5] Dan Crawford, *Thinking Black*, p. 212.

troublesome elements in one's make-up. Missionaries reach the field already physically mature and socially settled, with their own ideas and hopes, warned to become leaders, urged to feel responsible, though urged also to be adaptable and co-operative. When they arrive they find that at first their opinion is not counted worth much and that they have to be put up with for a period and are somewhat in the way, instead of being welcomed as saviours of a cause. Differences already exist, with parties formed. They want to learn the ropes but they find some confusion about the proper ones. So trouble develops, temperamental, nervous, depressing. Sometimes a missionary is invalided home who laid the foundation for his nervous breakdown in social and personal collisions which were hard to avoid, and whose wearing effect may not even be realized. In one country I went over a long list of physical breakdowns with a physician, and it seemed that half of that particular list could probably have been prevented by better adjustments of personal relationships.

But the wonder is not that such things occur; the wonder is that in so large and varied a force, under such varied conditions, there are not more of them. Only the prevenient and accepted grace of God could or can protect the field force from such differences or carry it through when they occur. They are no more an objection to the missionary enterprise than they are to any good work at home. However, if the grace of God cannot save us in them there as well as here, we lose one of our best arguments with our fellow-men.

II

Differences on missionary policy are also inevitable. They may be very deep, affecting the whole policy de-

termined by the home church, or they may be concerned with field policies in which the worker himself has a voice but a defeated one. Most of these differences gather under five headings:

1. The lines of work to be followed or stressed.
2. The financial methods to be adopted.
3. Attitude toward native brethren.
4. Attitude toward native customs and the prevailing religion.
5. Attitude toward governmental demands.

1. There are never workers enough nor money enough to do everything that would be desirable to do. Choice has constantly to be made among several lines of work; some can be stressed, others can not; some may even need to be dropped for the sake of carrying others on. Here is a school which must have a principal; but the only available person is now itinerating or translating or running another school or supervising some other enterprise. The issue is immediate: which shall be dropped or allowed to drag? Mission meetings are not always times of inspiring fellowship and enlarged vision. Sometimes they are so occupied with debatable issues that members are heartily glad when they are over. There are workers who do not attend regularly because the meetings are so occupied with "petty details of administration," precisely as presbyteries and synods and conferences appear to be in America. The charge is not always fair either there or here, for these details must be cared for somewhere. But it is not an uncommon experience to have a mission meeting close with somebody in tears because of an assignment to a work which he (more often she) does not really want to do, taken away from more congenial work.

It is wholly natural that the work to which one is giving one's time and strength should seem of large importance, and it is easy to use it as a standard for other lines of work. Some workers think education the great thing; others think it absorbs too much time and strength. There are workers to whom itinerating is obviously essential; others who speak of it as the "touch-and-go" method of missions, urging the larger value of the permanent relations of school life. Most of us are enthusiastic for what is called "newspaper evangelism," whereby a wide correspondence is developed among inquirers who reply to notices of the Christian faith and literature. I was amused, therefore, to be told by an experienced worker in another missionary line that newspaper evangelism is the refuge of the indolent, who would rather stay at home and write letters than do any real work—the more amused when I remembered the tireless energy of the men chiefly engaged in it. But if such issues arise, the differing opinions have to be concealed or exposed, and if on the objecting side there is a sense of responsibility for the whole enterprise, the possibilities of trouble are obvious.

What shall be the policy in India regarding the reception of masses of believers?[6] Shall they be baptized at the first glimmerings of new relation to the Christian faith, or shall they be instructed into some fullness of understanding and then baptized? Virtually all workers favour a certain period of preparation, culminating in ability to do something or other to show a measure of understanding, but what shall be the revealing test? Is it better to receive defective members

[6] Selden, *Are Missions a Failure?* Ch. VI presents interesting material on this point.

with consequent increase of discipline, or to delay reception until the probability of discipline is reduced to a minimum? There are excellent arguments on both sides, but one can hardly be indifferent if the issue arises. The enterprise which is thus enlarged or held back from enlargement is the same for all workers and one cannot say, Have it your own way, so calmly as can be said at home.

And what shall be the policy regarding "union" or co-operative enterprises? In the nature of the case, such an enterprise becomes a first charge on available funds and workers. If retrenchment is necessary, it is exceedingly difficult to apply it to agreements with other missions for the support of a college or a hospital whose plans are all laid out on the basis of an agreed amount of support. Is it not possible to become overloaded in a given station with these union projects, so that everything else has to suffer? Some say, "No," for this is the heart of the whole work; others say, "Yes," for other things are quite as important. It becomes a clear issue of field policy, but always complicated by home conditions, where many boards favour union and co-operative plans as being far less costly in men and money than separate ones. When a particular instance is complicated by theological differences or by divergent mission policies, it grows more serious and has sometimes been divisive on the field. Shall a conscientious man allow his mission to become allied with workers who teach error, giving it at least tacit approval, or with those whose methods do not make for the real progress of the Kingdom? He feels it is almost like being unequally yoked together with unbelievers.

2. Financial problems are perennial in the mission-

ary enterprise. An experienced worker said to me urgently that he could almost wish there were no money available for anything, so that the miserable questions involved might not arise. Of course this was not his deepest thought, but when one recalls the necessary hours spent over appropriations at both ends of the line and the questions that always emerge as to relative needs and the place of certain items in the program, the feeling can be understood. One of the deepest difficulties is as to the wise use of money in employing native workers. In most missions, unless some dominant figure has established a policy, there is difference about it. One group would be glad to see every missionary who must leave the field replaced by native workers on foreign salary, with other money applied to support of churches and agencies wholly native. Another group feels strongly that this would be a ruinous use of foreign money, ruinous to workers and to the native Church. This is the word of a veteran:

The trump of Gabriel is needed to warn our boards against continuing indefinitely the supply of funds for institutions and work from which missionaries have been dropped. In case the missionaries are withdrawn the funds should also be withdrawn—not all at once but with a firm, and previously notified, annual decrease. Otherwise we shall have a permanent—and worse than permanent—sycophant church on our hands.

This would be strongly opposed by other workers whose wisdom and zeal could not be discounted except in the interest of a theory. It is no academic question to be smoothly settled in home offices. There comes a time when you do it or you don't do it and there is no middle ground.

Financial differences are complicated by the fact that the money is sacred, much of it coming out of great sacrifice and hardship. When a sincere man sees what he honestly believes is waste or misuse of such money, how can he be silent? Yet, how can he suggest that his Christian brethren are less conscientious than himself? This leads back into the earlier problem: Where is sacred money most wisely used—in this line of work or some other? Is not that school using money which might well be used elsewhere? Is this employed worker really worth the money it takes to keep him in his place? Indeed, is it wise to employ many new believers? Does it not put the Christian movement on a wrong basis? These are not captious questions; earnest men are deeply concerned over them. Where does the line run between decent caution and selfish protection of one's health? Where is the line between worthy expenditures and unnecessary extravagance? Missionaries must not give the impression that their heavenly Father is impoverished and wants His children to go skimpingly through their task. Yet they are on the errand of One who had not where to lay His head, who became poor for the sake of others. Where shall they draw the line? May not the whole life become too smooth, too easy? Has it not become so in many Christian lands already? Yet, why go to impoverished lives with merely one more impoverished life? Why go to unsuitable homes with another unsuitable home? Why starve among people whose starvation one has gone to relieve? Here, again, nothing but patient acceptance of guiding grace can save us from disastrous differences.

One perennial discussion is on the determining factor in advance: Shall missionaries be guided by doors

providentially opened, trusting the Lord to provide the means for the work, or shall the provision be first reasonably assured? Whole societies have separated on that issue. I found individual workers questioning if they were doing right to stand before pressing demands, refusing to advance because the boards at home held them back on what they felt was a mistaken policy of calculation. Others did not share this feeling, though they were eager for the advance movement. One phrased it in this way: "We move by the flag of precedent, while God waves before us the flag of providence; the means are His; obedience only is ours." Another replied that God had given us our commonsense for some purpose, surely, and this was our chance to use it. Is debt right? One worker considers credit a gift of God, and that to measure work by money apt to be available before it is undertaken would be to cripple the whole enterprise. Another says that he has somewhere read: "Owe no man anything," and debt means that you do owe somebody money. In one instance I tried to clear the path by suggesting that experience had shown that the ideas are not contradictory, and that most boards had found a path which involved both trust in God and keeping one's powder dry; only to be reminded that this was another case of allowing faith to be displaced by caution and experience. Some men have broken away from the regular missionary force on this issue, working independently. The instances that came to my knowledge failed to prove this the wise course. But it cannot be dismissed as negligible. Special instances like this are available:

In this Dan Crawford shared a like faith with George Muller of Ashley Down Orphanages (Bristol, England), that he also believed that what God gave

him to do, God would from week to week provide the means to support. None of his work was endowed. He lived (and his work was supported) by strong faith in the unlimited riches of God and in the power of prayer. . . . Concrete facts about empty coffers made no difference whatever to his riches.[7]

It ought to be clear, however, that the issue is not one of faith in God nor in the power of prayer. No mission board of any church goes into its year with its income assured except in the obedient hearts of servants of Christ who may be expected to give the money for the work. Workers under " faith missions " are no more dependent on the blessing of God both for support and for advancement of their work than those whose home boards send them remittances regularly. The farmer who plows his field trusts God as truly for his harvest as though he sat by the field waiting for it to yield its fruits.

3. Another point of difference arises in the fact that the missionary enterprise is merely a lesser phase of a whole piece of work, the principal phase of which is steadily increasing in dignity and self-consciousness. At what point shall the missionary give way to native brethren, and what shall be his attitude toward them just before and during and after that act? When are nationals prepared to assume responsibility and when can a missionary, entrusted with sacred funds and the charge of the Gospel, transfer that responsibility?

This runs as far back as the New Testament. It was the issue in the dispute between Paul and Barnabas regarding John Mark. Paul had the work chiefly in mind and was not willing to endanger it again at the

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[7] *Missionary Review of the World,* July, 1927, p. 496.

hands of a new worker who had failed and might readily repeat the failure; so he refused to let Mark go out again. Barnabas had the worker chiefly in mind and felt that the work was great enough to endure a great deal of failure if only workers had a fair chance of development; so he wanted to take Mark along. That difference between missionaries is frequent. Some are for holding on to workers whom others would instantly dismiss. And this difference affects the native brethren, some favouring missionaries for certain policies, others opposing them on that account.

The issue sharpens as the transfer of leadership draws nearer. Policies of co-operation between mission and native Church often stick at this point. Some workers are more ready to have them put into immediate operation, some cannot see that the time has yet come. This results in injured pride among nationals and in estrangement among friends. When a station in China had to be evacuated in 1927 a very conservative missionary left with the American consul a sum of money to be paid to the Chinese evangelists as they came for it, explaining that there was no native leader whom he could trust with it. Meanwhile, there were several highly cultured, well trained Chinese who had the full confidence of his colleagues, who were readily available for the receipt and disbursement of the money. They were naturally aggrieved. A well developed national Christian said to me almost bitterly: "The missionaries have had us as their helpers, and they expected us to be somewhat docile in that capacity. Now we are looking to the missionaries to become our helpers; can we hope to find they equally docile?" He had not found them so. But some of them were too docile according to other brethren who

thought they were going much too fast in their surrender of leadership. The differences are caused partly by the type and stage of native leadership most in evidence. Some are thrown with the most capable, ready for large responsibility; some with the less capable.

4. A fourth difficulty is of the same sort: what shall be the missionary, or even Christian, attitude toward non-Christian native customs and practices?[8] There is the question of polygamy: shall a convert be admitted to the Church while he continues in plural marriage relations? If not, what shall he do with wives whom he married according to the custom of the land, upon whom a stigma is placed in case of separation? Yet if polygamists are admitted to the Church, how shall the Christian idea of the worth of each individual and the rights of a wife as an equal with her husband and the logic of the Christian home ever be maintained? A natural policy would be to leave it to the consciences of native believers, but they divide on it even more sharply than foreigners. And when these believers are yet in the nascent period, is it fair to leave the trend of the new Church to them? A missionary writes that he cannot endure the weak compromises of some of his brethren who are so eager for numbers that they allow polygamists to enroll as Christians. How is he apt to get along with these brethren in mission meetings?

In Japan, how far shall children in Christian schools go in the use of Shinto practices? In Christian understanding they may involve merely proper patriotic respect to the symbols of government; in local understanding they may mean worship of human creatures

[8] Two important articles on this subject appear in *The International Review of Missions*, July, 1927.

or images. If a Christian becomes an official of the government and is required to take part in certain ceremonies, can he justify himself by saying that he means nothing by them but what any reasonable Christian means, while he knows that to some who share the ceremonies with him they mean a vastly different thing? Native Christians have differed about it; missionaries differ inevitably. In one sense they might be told it is none of their business, but many of them feel that nothing that expresses the Christian faith can fail to be their business. The earliest Christians faced it in the question of Roman service.

In China, what shall be done about ancestor-worship? Are there elements in it which should be preserved in the spirit of the Fifth Commandment? Shall a believing son take part in the ceremonies on his own understanding of what they may be made to mean while he knows that others in the family and all observers understand them to mean an unChristian thing? An American traveller gave a sum of money to erect in China a small Christian chapel with a tablet indicating that it was erected to the glory of God and in honour of his parents, a perfectly natural and Christian thing to do. In some groups the act was applauded as a matter of course; in others I heard it condemned as unwise because it indicated an attitude toward the dead which would be certainly misunderstood. A missionary writes that an outstanding need in connection with evangelism in his part of China is "a thoroughly tested form of public ritual for the reverence of ancestors, thus identifying the Church with the better values of the prevalent worship of ancestors."[9] There

[9] *Chinese Recorder,* May, 1926, p. 367.

would be differing missionary and native opinion on the suggestion.

Such unavoidable differences sometimes result seriously on the field, estranging workers, not because they are heady, but because the issue seems larger to some than to others. Paul had to deal with it in his day. Peter favoured a shading off from the old into the fulness of the new, avoiding unnecessary divisions or sacrifices of familiar forms and practices. Paul was for a clean break with the old at every critical point. He feared anything in the nature of a compromise. On the other hand, it is evident that he felt the influence of both Roman and Greek thought. His break was a clean one, but he enriched his Christian conceptions from other fields. How far can this be done in mission lands? Only a guiding grace, thoughtfully accepted, can carry the workers through this difference. The difference involves no conscious surrender of the uniqueness of Christianity. Compromise at certain points may be wise or not, but it need not be wicked nor unChristian.

5. Of the same general type is the difficulty that arises regarding relation to governmental requirements. These requirements are most trying in the field of education and tend to become increasingly irksome and annoying. To some minds they have already reached the point of hindrance of the very purpose of missionary work. Many governments in mission lands tend to limit or forbid religious instruction in a school which seeks any standing.[10] Shall the missionaries agree to run their schools if no required Bible reading, no chapel services, no religious practices of any kind are per-

[10] The details of the Chinese limitations on religious teaching in schools are discussed in Selden, *Are Missions a Failure?* Ch. XV.

mitted? Can the purpose of missionary education be served if this is done? Ought missionaries to shut up their schools under such restrictions, or shall they try to maintain in them so distinctive a Christian atmosphere as to commend the Christian faith even without its distinctive practices? In China the issue is a vital one, involving the very existence of the schools; in India the receiving of government subsidies and the general standing of the schools are involved; in Korea government recognition proves essential to efficient service, though the religious issue tends to be somewhat relieved.

The missionary force, in fields where this issue is faced, have divided into two observable groups. This results also in dividing the native Christian body. Some consider that yielding to government demands indicates proper regard for the civil power, which is "ordained of God," and that refusal to do so accents unduly the essential "foreignness" of Christianity. Others consider that it is perilous to allow the Christian movement to be compromised by admitting the right of a government to dictate in matters which lie within private right. A Chinese minister told me that in his judgment the missionaries had thrown the native Christians down in their agreeing in a marked instance to a governmental requirement. Other Chinese believers said that such acceptance is actually the only hope of saving the Christian movement. A mission teacher told me she would go home before she would teach in a school from which the Bible is excluded. Another said she could see no Christianity in refusing the demands of the established government and they had all better go home than refuse. In view of the present requirements in China for "registering" a school, some work-

ers are for closing the schools rather than comply and are joined by their home boards in their feeling. On the other hand, the president of one of the universities says bluntly: "It would be unChristian for a school in China not to do willingly what the government would enforce if it could." On the other hand, the scholarly Prince Damrong, of Siam, said:

I have three daughters in the American Presbyterian School. It is only fair that they should attend the classes in religious instruction because their education is given in the name of Christianity.[11]

Differences in questions of missionary policy are unavoidable if we are to have in the enterprise men and women of independent minds and if the enterprise is to grow in the world that actually exists. When one sees how complicated the work becomes and then hears the easy solution of all its problems by people who are entirely without the handicap of experience or intelligence on the subject, one wishes merely to make the issues clear. Each one has its counterpart in Christian lands. As the work goes on here in presence of these differences and our one test is the presence of a truly Christian spirit, so it must be there. Only, the missionary force deserves from the home constituency a sympathetic realization that the work has passed beyond the simple, undisturbed stage.

III

Mission workers differ in their thought of their essential message and of their responsibility for preserving it in accepted forms. This is generally spoken of as theological divergence and is often mentioned in

[11] Selden, *Are Missions a Failure?* Ch. XII.

home discussions. As one visitor, I found much less of it than I expected to find, though I was on the field as a lecturer whose work involved a good deal of theological expression. Other visitors have had a different experience. News often reaches the home Church of radical disagreements among the workers in their faith and message. This ought not to trouble or disturb supporters there any more than it does here.

a. The field force could not all be of one mind and really represent the home Church, for it is not of one mind. Unless there is some magic whereby human beings and the Christian faith change in a journey to mission lands, we may as well expect that the differences to which we have become accustomed here will emerge there. If there are divergent groups of supporters, as there are, it would hardly be fair to ask any one of those groups to surrender all representation in the field on penalty of having to isolate themselves from the rest of the force. This need not cause apprehension. It is only within a fairly well defined area of difference that any support for foreign missions comes. There are denials at home that cut the nerve of missionary zeal. There are ideas of the Person of Christ and of the need and provision of salvation which do not abide on the mission field because no one has lasting zeal to propagate them. They soon disappear because they destroy the missionary spirit. Real disputes are always about phases of Christian truth which yet leave men eager to tell other men about them. Such errors cannot be fatal to missions in the nature of the case; the supporters would not be supporting and the worker would not be there to work.

b. If the workers are the kind needed on the field, men of independent mind, eager to know and follow

the truth at any cost, we may expect that they will do precisely as all such workers soon or late do in the home land—develop differences of understanding and expression. Some of them will be unwise there as here; some of them will do harm here as there. Some may need to be silenced there as here in the interest of the truth and of common-sense, though the problem remains as to the Christian way of silencing them. But we could have on the field only a group of weaklings if they all agreed so nearly that there could be no serious differences in their thinking and teaching. The unanimous groups at home are not the ones from which mission boards would want to draw workers. The truth does not make men uniform; it makes them free. The Christian faith is bewilderingly rich in its points of view and its affirmations. Indeed, it makes room for what in their actual terms sound like contradictions, though of course there are no real contradictions in truth itself. At home we have found it possible to work in close harmony with each other because we have tried to find the underlying unity of apparently contrary ideas; every mission field has workers who have done the same thing with reference to their brethren.

This very fact often adds to the difficulty. The field force is recruited every year by young men and women fresh from home conditions and attitudes, suddenly set down among workers who are matured in another line of thinking, some of whom are suspicious of what they count the " modern " ideas. They are not " modern " ideas to the new workers; they are the only ideas they have had, for the earlier ones may not even have been discussed by them. The new workers have witnessed at home the adjustment of the new and the old and many of them are surprised to find how ardently the

differences are still being discussed on the field. It is quite impossible to find missionary recruits of the best type who have no ideas except those with which their predecessors have gone to the field some years earlier. Candidate secretaries would testify that this is one of their most difficult issues. Some mission groups will not admit recruits who think or say certain things which most young people applying for appointment are quite apt to say. They take their " new wine " to " old bottles " and often something bursts, as our Lord said it would do. This is not only hard on the old bottles, but it leads to the spilling of the new wine—a bad business all the way round.

The case is further complicated by the fact that the workers are supposed to know what the Christian faith is and to be giving their lives to its propagation. They cannot well be indifferent to the very essence of their mission. The question is as to the breadth of the area which is really Christian. Some divergences are accepted. We baptize differently, without serious trouble. We ordain officers differently and yet get on smoothly. We interpret many Scripture passages differently without offence. But how far can we admit differences about the Person of our Lord, about the meaning of His cross, about the validity and inspiration of the Bible, about the validity of holy orders? When do such divergences carry men across the Christian line into the non-Christian field? I met few petty men on the field, men with quirks and quibbles which they wanted to enforce on their brethren. There are such men, of course, there as here. But the difficult men are those who are sane and devoted, dreadfully in earnest for the thing they are living to do, reading their commission in such explicit terms that they cannot

abide its variation by other men. Some of them find it difficult to admit that men of the other sort are sincere, intelligent, devoted, consecrated. One worker reminded me of the story of John the Beloved who would not go into the bath when Cerinthus was there lest the wrath of God strike the place; he himself felt that believers had no right to have fellowship with such unbelievers as he considered some of his fellow-missionaries to be. Yet it was not over a quibble; it was on account of what he counted a vital truth.

The "China Continuation Committee," which was succeeded by the National Christian Council, announced that it had been restricted in its movements by the necessity for holding its constituency together. The effort to agree on uniform terms for certain great staples in Christian thinking was dropped because it threatened to "split the committee!"

Similarly the committee decided it could not wisely undertake to invite prominent evangelists or religious teachers to conduct meetings or deliver addresses in China lest by so doing it alienate part of its constituency.[12]

This sensitiveness, largely on the part of missionaries and those to whom they are authoritative, has continued and one large agency of mission work has withdrawn from alliance with the National Christian Council on doctrinal grounds, while several aggressive workers have independently attacked it almost bitterly because of its activity in various lines. They desire its dissolution. If this attitude were not so familiar in American circles, it would be more surprising; it is merely humiliating under the circumstances.

[12] *Report of National Christian Conference*, p. 77.

In several countries workers of the more conservative type have voluntary organizations; I did not learn of any for the less conservative group. Extreme advocates have been annoying in a few cases, as extremists are anywhere. The whole group to which they belong bears their discredit. The worst enemies of conservatism are conservatives and the worst enemies of liberalism are liberals. A conservative in China told me he was more anxious about the actions of the conservative body than about the teachings of liberal workers, for the native brethren tended to judge the whole discussion by the spirit and manner of the men on both sides rather than on its merits.

This fact furnishes the most vital element in the situation: whatever is done must reveal the spirit of Christ or it argues on the opposite side. A harsh, condemnatory conservative makes liberalism look attractive; a wild, extreme liberal, lacking the spirit of Christ, drives men into the conservative camp. If a Christian cannot fellowship with other men who count themselves Christian, observers may properly wonder what he is across the sea to contribute. It is hard enough everywhere to get along with one's fellows; if Christianity makes it harder, if it divides men into opposing camps, where is it better than other faiths? Early Romans said: "See how these Christians love each other." Observers in mission lands as well as those at home have sometimes had occasion to say with a sneer: "See! How these Christians love each other!!" If I had been a non-Christian in one meeting which I attended in India I would have been confirmed in my unbelief by the language which Christians used about others who called themselves Christians. Unless we find a way of expressing our differences without deny-

ing the very essence of our faith we had better hide them in our shame. That is especially true in mission lands. Flagrant and passionate divisions there are a hindrance to the whole work.

Most of the fundamental differences originate in the sending countries. Our denominational lines reappear on the field because the workers come from home conditions. Some of them feel that the missionary task is to give Christ to the world and let Him form His own Christianity around Himself; others feel that He has already formed the Christian faith in the lands from which they have come and that it is only fair to pass it on in that form. Roman Catholics cannot let the new believer decide whether there shall be a pope or not; Christ settled that at the beginning. Baptists cannot leave it to new believers to decide whether they shall be immersed or not; Christ commanded it. Tunkers cannot ask converts whether they shall practice ceremonial foot-washing; that was settled by Christ Himself. Some churches have very few such items, but each has a few which seem an essential part of the true conception of Christianity. Propagating the faith without them is not propagation of the real faith. One may rejoice in the fractional work others are doing but one cannot count it the basis for entire agreement.

That the issue can become acute is suggested by the word of a Chinese delegate to the Shanghai Conference (Report, 209):

> The Church today is frankly rigid and dogmatic in thought, still presenting herself in the cloaks of the fourth and the sixteenth centuries. . . . Thoughtful people fear that the Church is defending certain ancient metaphysical concepts instead of Christ, enthroning prejudices instead of God, worshipping the Bible in-

stead of the Saviour, emphasizing traditions instead of life, preaching orthodoxy instead of the gospel, perpetuating accretions instead of the essence of Christianity, and exhibiting the spirit of strife, conflict and division instead of the spirit of love, sympathy and brotherhood in one God the Father and one Saviour Jesus Christ.

Suppose a missionary finds himself in presence of that charge, what is he to do? How is he to meet its implications, if he should not agree with it? If he knows his colleagues do not agree with it, while he himself does, how is he to relate himself to them?

As we approached Egypt I had a long talk with a Roman Catholic priest who was returning to his station in that land. He spoke with deep feeling of the divisions among Christian propagandists:

We must somehow get together as workers for Christianity. I go to a Coptic village on Saturday from my college work and try to get the people to think our way; the Protestant missionary also goes. We may go together or he on his horse and I on my donkey, by train or bicycle. We talk together, but each tries to get the people to think his way. It is very puzzling to them. Yet we are all talking about the same thing; it is the Christian faith we are presenting. Why can we not come together in it?

But the problem would remain as to the terms on which they could " come together " and exactly on what they would meet.

How much the missionary enterprise ought to try to give the world has not yet been settled with unanimity on the field nor in Christian lands. When is Christ preached? Suppose His deity is omitted; suppose His humanity is slighted; suppose the meaning of the incar-

nation or of the death is confused or misstated—has Christ been preached? There is a sense in which He is never preached, if we mean that all is said of Him that might be said. Who can say, "I preach Christ as He deserves to be preached," when he surely knows that no word of his ever touches the heights of Christ's deserving? And if even at our best we must admit that we do not preach Christ worthily, how shall we settle that another man is so far less worthy than ourselves because he fails to say something which we have included or even denies it? Have we ourselves included so much that we can be overly proud? Can we standardize our vision of the truth and so rule out another man and his supposed vision?

Of course it is not all simple. The trouble is not with omissions and differences of accent. It is with denials and denunciations. Men go to the field from home conditions where they have learned to discount some formerly accented truths. Some of them are not content to declare the truth as they have come to see it; they must needs point out the errors of the fathers and of all who hold with the fathers. They sink their errand of propagation in one of correction, setting the benighted right according to the newest knowledge. Or, on the other hand, they have received at home an impression that large sections of supposed Christians are in grave error; they feel the obligation to show the truth regarding these mistaken folk. Either way, trouble comes when the worker decides that he must say what ought not to be believed, not content with teaching what ought to be believed. If one were wise enough for that, one could do it freely, but few are wise enough. Most who try it show that they lack the inspiration of the Biblical writers to whose example

they are apt to appeal. At critical points it takes a Paul to imitate a Paul; the rest had better imitate him at his sacrificial points and not attempt his most regulative methods.

The saving assurance here is that truth can be trusted to make its own way in the long run. Error has no strength except from some inner core of truth which it tries to express. Errorists generally stand for some aspect of truth which can readily be accepted once it is seen. This is shown in the fact that we almost never word an error in such terms that its adherents will accept the wording. In a missionary group I spoke of the Christian commonplace that no one is prepared to denounce the position of another man until he can word that position so that the other man will say, " Yes, that is what I mean." The question was at once raised whether that would not lessen the spirit of controversy. It would. Controversy is seldom about an agreed issue, but generally about a clouded one, in which the terms are confused.

At home and on the mission field I have heard men denounced for holding views which they would have denounced more earnestly than their denouncers. Conservative missionaries were described as intending what I knew to be remote from their minds. Liberal missionaries were described in terms which were impossible except to prejudice and ignorance. Some of the literature which I ran across on the mission field, dealing with this line of difference, was extreme enough to be downright false. It betrayed distrust of truth, unwillingness to believe that its clear and unqualified statement is argument enough in presence of error. The writers did not know the sure doom of all error in the presence of Him who is The Truth. On the mission

field especially the tendency of error is to defeat itself; it destroys its own motive for existence. Why should a man be on the mission field for the propagating of shallow ideas? The reply is that he will not be there long; they are not worth propagating, and mission work gets pretty hard at times. A number of men have come back from the field because they found they had nothing worth saying.

The small son of a Persia missionary, learning that his father was going to Jerusalem for a conference, said: " Mother, has father anything important to say to Jesus when he gets to Jerusalem? " The sure thing is that if a man finds himself on the mission field with nothing important to say, he will not long hang around trying to say it. And if he does stay, that itself is reason to look carefully at what he thinks he has to say. It is apt to contain something worth saying.

VII

PRESENT CONDITIONS THAT CHALLENGE THE ENTERPRISE

SOME perennial objections to the missionary enterprise have already been noted. Each age brings peculiar conditions which raise anew the question of its validity. The most challenging conditions of the present period may be grouped under three headings:

I. The vivid sense of world equality among all nations.
II. Radical social changes.
III. Renewed discussion of the uniqueness of Christianity.

I

The missionary enterprise implies that some human beings have something which other human beings have not and which the possessors feel they must give to others. There is no necessary implication that the first group are at all superior in themselves to the others, but the process often develops a sense of superiority. If I have what you need and begin graciously to give it to you, it is easy for me to gain and give the impression that you are my inferior and to expect you to be duly grateful for my goodness in serving your need. What is worse, the recipient may accept this gradation and develop a sense of inferiority. This may be by

no one's wish and may be accompanied by sincere protestations to the contrary.

Professor Pratt tells of "a learned and enthusiastic Brahmin" whom he met and who talked with him on the subject of salvation. The talk is illuminating as showing how the idea of missions strikes some religionists:

> The chief obstacles in the way of freedom are self-interest, the impulse to destroy others, and conceit. Of these, conceit is perhaps the most insidious. It often takes the form of our thinking ourselves able to help others—hence as being superior to others. This we must root out. We should never seek to do good to others for the others' sake, but only for our own sakes, as a step in our own salvation; for to seek to do them good for their own sakes (objectively) would involve conceit on our part.[1]

Yet it has thus far proved impossible to execute any Christian missionary program which does not rest on desire for the good of others, with the inevitable danger of a sense of personal superiority noted by the Brahmin. And even though the worker renounces any such feeling, his entire scheme of life appears to such observers to imply it.

The idea of national and racial equality is a rather late development. It has been taken for granted that some nations would control others, and that certain cultures were greatly superior to others. Nations have habitually looked down on or up to each other or have gone to war over issues that involved it. Superiority has been claimed much more frequently than admitted. China was the Celestial Kingdom and the

[1] James B. Pratt, *India and Its Faiths*, p. 103n.

Middle Kingdom only in its own esteem. Japan was the Sunrise Kingdom long after other nations refused to find their sunshine there. Anglo-Saxons have taken their inherent and acquired superiority for granted; other races have doubted it. Nordics are not taken nearly so seriously by the rest of the world as by their recent advocates. Admission of equal or superior value in other races or lands is hardly patriotic according to some standards. It is not quite proper to declare that " we," whoever " we " may be, have much to learn from other people. Why do " we " Chinese need the schools of Westerners? Why should " we " Americans join a League of Nations that puts us on an equality with all and sundry? An article in *The Atlantic Monthly,* June, 1926, tells that *The Ladies' Home Journal* had published this paragraph:

There is only one first class civilization in the world today. It is right here in the United States and the Dominion of Canada. It may be a cocky thing to say but relatively it is first class, while Europe's is hardly second class and Asia's is about fourth to sixth class.

Miss Agnes Repplier quoted the saying in a New York lecture and reports:

My audience took it at its full value, as a modest statement of an incontrovertible fact. They seemed to believe that we were, like the Jews, a chosen people, that our mission was " the uplift " of the human race and that it behooved those who were to be uplifted to recognize their inferior altitude.

The Far East has passed through two stages of racial and national relations and is now entering the third. The first stage was of conscious, though unadmitted, superiority. The effort of Western nations to enter

into commercial and other relations with Far Eastern lands was accepted as a tribute to their superiority and the inferiority of the West. The next stage was one of enforced, grudgingly accepted, inferiority. At critical points the Western nations showed a superiority which lowered Far Eastern pride. They were stronger and more diplomatic and got most that they wanted, whether the Far East liked it or not. In much of the Oriental program this Western superiority was accepted as beyond discussion, and imitation was practiced more widely than ever before in national history. One result was that many people in the Far East idealized Western nations and conditions. It is sometimes said that the Far East has just now discovered the defects of Western lands. Missionaries are blamed for having pretended that everything in their lands was roseate and proper. There is no valid ground for so silly a charge against missionaries. The idealizing was not their doing; it went along with an acceptance of inferiority at all points because it has been demonstrated at a few points. In all these lands nationals have made imitative changes which the missionaries have deprecated because they consider the familiar ways better.

I was present when a veteran missionary and a veteran Christian national were talking. The national said that when he was a lad he supposed everybody in the West was a Christian and that everything there was as it should be. The missionary said: " But that was in spite of me, wasn't it? Did I ever give you any ground for thinking such a thing? " The national admitted the contention, explaining that it was his own enlargement upon the obvious advantages brought by the people from the West. It was at this period that advantage was taken by Western nations so far as that

has been done. Strength is never the entire explanation of such things; weakness must take its share of the blame. The present tendency is to lay all the burden on Western nations, a burden which they certainly deserve in large measure. But the story cannot be completed without frank recognition of the fact that the conscious superiority of the Far East had broken down with no compensating self-respect.

But both these stages are past. The third stage—of conscious, and demanded, equality—is here, and constitutes a challenging condition for missions. The " mission lands " are not claiming superiority; they are renouncing inferiority and demanding equality with all the nations of the earth. Politically, governmentally, racially, they have all right to the demand. Nothing else is defensible in the world as it now is. " China has a great determination to take her rightful place in the family of nations." Why should she not? Why should not every nation do so? But it must be taken on merit, and until merit develops it has to be given by grace, which is a poor basis for national equality.

The rise of nationalism is affecting the whole world just when internationalism is being magnified. An American student of the situation says that the " Chinese problem at bottom is nationalism coming into the presence of nationalism." Heretofore it has been dependence coming into the presence of independence, the weaker waiting upon the will of the stronger. It is hoped that day is ended and that the new day is really here. No intelligent person wants it otherwise. The problems of readjustment are puzzling but the process cannot be abandoned.

Central among these problems is the right treatment of national pride. *a.* Exterritoriality is far more im-

portant than its mere terms would suggest. It is a permanent claim of superiority by some nations and an acknowledgment of inferiority by others. For many years no Westerner was amenable to the laws of Siam, of Japan, of China. He could defy them, so far as local authority was concerned, though he might fare badly at the hands of his own consular courts. He walked those lands in superior dignity, able to snap his fingers at courts and law and officers. This was not a missionary device; indeed, from the first many missionaries have been urgent in desiring its elimination. It went out of Japan and Siam with their hearty agreement. It must go out in China. Of course, China must then become responsible for the results, as Japan and Siam did, through a responsible government. But its offense is to national pride; it is not a relation of equals. It came from a time when equality would have been only a pretense, and the task now is to change the pretense into a reality.

b. Of the same nature is American restriction on Oriental immigration and refusal of citizenship to Orientals. No person or group in Japan in my hearing raised the slightest question about the right of the United States to control its immigration and to limit its citizenship. Indeed, Japan claims that right for itself. While I was there six hundred Chinese labourers were deported because they complicated the labour situation. The offense is in the selective nature of the exclusion, in being kept out while others are let in, definitely marked as a group unsuited to admission and citizenship. The only grounds suggested for the exclusion are grievous to national pride. In the earlier day such an act might have passed unnoticed and unregarded. But this rising national spirit makes it in-

jurious now. If all were shut out, there would be no complaint; if the same standards were applied to all, there would be no objection. But when a nation sends out messengers of a religion of human equality and brotherhood under a common Father, and then takes measures which indicate a selective attitude among races, it weakens the appeal of the messengers. It has done so in this case. Only the firm grounding of the Christian faith in multitudes of Japanese and Chinese hearts prevents disastrous results from the collision between the Christian message and the American practice at such points. Nothing America can do now will stop the Christian movement in the Far East or anywhere else in the world, for it has its own advocates there who judge America by Christianity and not Christianity by America. But failure to recognize the rising sense of national pride and worth may hinder the Christian movement in many lands.

c. Closely akin to this is the heightened racial feeling. It appears in the relations between racial groups in different lands and within each land. The experiences of Mr. Gandhi in South Africa and India are familiar. In Christian lands race relations are often a marked disgrace and a betrayal of the whole Christian theory. A gospel that cannot be practiced, whose adherents talk brotherhood and practice antipathy, is handicapped to begin with. Whether such adherents should present the Gospel to others, carrying their antipathies with them, can hardly be discussed.

The sense of human equality has helped to arouse a strong opposition to all forms of force in national relationships. War has been more successfully waged in recent years by Christian nations than by any others. Many Oriental leaders say that all the arts

of war which the Far East uses have been learned from the West, non-Christians learning from Christians. It is hardly a fair statement, for the East has had its own equally effective way of disposing of enemies. But the war of 1914-18 shocked many men the world around into a sense of horror of such strife. Most of the inequalities of which the East complains now were written into treaties in the days when such force was all on the side of the West, and the presence of Western naval and military forces in the Far East raises a fear of the old policy, despite constant disclaimers from the West.

A recent Western writer expresses the common thought in saying: " As you are aware, the closed door of China was blown open by foreign cannon, the missionaries pouring into the breach the armies of the West had made." Similar terms are used regarding the beginning of evangelical work in the Philippine Islands following the Spanish-American War. But it would be unfair to imply that the breach was made for missions or that missionaries desired it made in any such way. It is altogether fine that when the West began to pour its life into the East, the adherents of what is best in the West were among the first to enter. They had been the first to desire admission, but they would never have used cannon for entrance. They had entered peaceably already. However, it is unavoidable that the missionary enterprise should share in the obloquy of all that came in through the cannon-breach, and it is now incumbent on its advocates and supporters to make it clear that they share the worthy ambitions of the receiving peoples for a proper place in the roll of nations.

And this of itself provides a serious problem. What

ought to be the relation of missionaries to their own governments and to the governments of the people with whom they are associated? It is sometimes suggested that they should renounce all relation to their own governments, on the new plea that "money and men migrate at their own risk." But this would play directly into the hands of those who charge Christianity with being an unpatriotic faith, destroying high loyalties and breaking national bonds. A man out on its errands would lose his citizenship and forfeit his nationality. Some would welcome this, saying that he becomes a citizen of a higher Kingdom. But so do those whom he wins to the new faith in each land; yet they have their duties as citizens, not weakened but strengthened by their Christian profession. In the recent disturbances in China, when American and British citizens were instructed by their consuls to leave interior stations and go to seaports, many missionaries were for remaining, as their Christian Chinese friends desired them to do. At the Presbyterian General Assembly in San Francisco, May, 1927, a body of missionaries presented a statement in which this paragraph occurs:

There seems to be a widespread impression that missionaries have left their work because of opposition on the part of Chinese Christians. Such is not the case. Missionaries vacated their stations at the explicit advice and demand of the government representatives, who were fearful of international complications such as occurred in the Nanking incident. Since the Chinese government would not adequately protect from possible mob violence it seemed best for the work and all concerned to withdraw temporarily from places where there is not yet a settled government.

When their national authorities ordered them away, refusing to allow them to renounce protection or safeguards, it became their duty as examples of the Christian faith to obey. Remaining in defiance of justifiable authority would have looked heroic in some lights, but it would have betrayed the spirit of the faith they were seeking to present. No demand of conscience was here involved, no claim of God above all human claims. In no other way could the missionaries have witnessed more steadily and helpfully in the critical hour when Christianity was being charged with denationalizing its adherents than by practicing obedience to the authorities to whom they owed civil allegiance.

A large body of missionaries, as early as 1924, sent an urgent plea to the American minister at Peking that the existing treaty regarding the protection of missionaries in interior places might be altered. They said:

> We express our earnest desire that no form of military pressure, specially not foreign military force, be exerted to protect us or our property, no punitive expedition be sent out and no indemnity be exacted. We take this stand, believing that the way to establish righteousness and peace is through suffering wrong without retaliation and through bringing the spirit of good will to bear on all persons under all circumstances.

Not all missionaries agreed with this position and the Western governments took the accepted ground that they were not free to accept such renunciation on the part of citizens. When the treaties are changed, as they will be, the case will be different. These same missionaries obeyed the order of their authorities and removed to port cities or other lands when the later emergencies arose. Both their earlier declaration and

their later acceptance of patriotic duty were wholly proper to Christians. The treaties between countries must be put on a worthy basis; meanwhile, the Christian religion does not permit men to become disloyal to authority when their duty to God is left unhindered.

A more noticeable phase of this sense of world equality is the increased feeling in prevailing Christian lands for the rights of non-Christian lands. There are groups in America and England who feel as strongly regarding unequal Chinese treaties, Japanese exclusion, Indian ambition for larger political freedom, African subjection, Persian and Turkish demands for autonomy and advancement, as the people of those lands feel them. What Western nations claim for themselves, many of their people are eager to endorse in other lands. This results in a tendency to magnify all rights in other lands and to magnify all wrongs in one's own country. This is a healthier attitude than the more familiar one of finding all one's own national acts noble and all opposing acts ignoble. None of the Eastern members of American conferences regarding international relations have been more earnest in their demand for full recognition of the national rights than their American associates.

In the earlier day the custom was to standardize non-Christian people by the worst specimens and Christians by the best; now the practice is reversed: the non-Christian groups are measured by the finest instances and Christian nations by the worst. Dr. Jowett, Master of Balliol, speaks of the habit of some thinkers in these terms:

They have compared the best part of themselves with the worst part of their neighbours, the ideal of Chris-

tianity with the corruption of Greece or the East. They have not aimed at impartiality but have been contented to accumulate all that could be said in praise of their own and in dispraise of other forms of religion.[2]

The only argument needed against this practice is the statement of it. But reversing the method is no better. The only reasonable comparison must be on the same level: worst with worst, best with best, average with average. Critics of missions often magnify the virtues of non-Christian groups and the vices of Christians, omitting the vices of non-Christians and the virtues of Christians. In so far as this is necessary to correct the ignorant idea that non-Christians have no virtues and Christians no vices, it is well to follow it. Only the ignorant have such ideas, but ignorance is not uncommon.

The growing purpose to take a fair view of ourselves and of other nations is a factor in any international program such as that of missions. Can the enterprise be conducted without implication of inferiority but only in loyalty to a great value which deserves to be shared? Can the theory of the Christian faith be maintained in practice—that all men are of equal value before God and that no group has a right to hold back from other groups anything that has proved valuable to itself? Instead of giving an impression of imposing one culture upon another, can the missionary enterprise be made an effort to share cultures, gaining as well as giving? Can missionaries go out with an open mind, not merely toward their own rich experience of Christ which they seek to share with others, but toward the life and experiences of those among whom they will

[2] Jowett, *Sermons on Faith and Doctrine,* ii.

live, hoping to share all that is good in their thinking and living? Nothing in the theory of the enterprise in the smallest degree conflicts with this idea and much in its practice from the first has been in harmony with it. Anything that conflicts with it could be altered without violating its purpose. Thus the challenge of the new spirit among nations and races could be met.

II

Social change is a phenomenon of all lands. Static conditions are marks of backward nations; everywhere nations are becoming plastic. The changes must occur in the midst of existing conditions, however, and the collision of new forces with fixed conditions makes distress and disturbance. Older people in all lands view with alarm the changed customs of the new generation. They seem not merely socially improper but morally ruinous. An Indian woman of the old school thinks of her granddaughter sitting in a lecture room with unveiled face, gazed upon by young men and foreign speakers and freely spoken to by such men, with something akin to horror; it is a mark of personal and moral degeneration. Graduates of Westernized schools return to ancestral homes in China or Siam or Africa with relaxed regard for or even opposition to agelong family customs and bring the same distress there that occurs in Western lands when a boy returns from college without his Christian faith, no longer ready to take his place in church and family religion. In Egypt a young Moslem fled her home rather than undergo the shame of polygamous marriage to a lecherous husband. The event was welcomed in Christian circles as showing a new and better spirit among Moslem women; in Moslem circles it showed the perilous breakdown of

traditions on which society rests. As was noted in Chapter II, travel through non-Christian lands where Christian ideas have begun to affect social life gives a deeper meaning to Christ's word about sending not peace but a sword. The transition from the old to the new may be from worse to better, but it is accompanied with much pain. That is often the price of growth or progress, but it is sometimes more evident than the possible gain.

Many things are causing these social changes. A statement regarding the Far East, issued by a group of mission secretaries, speaks of the changes in this way:

In China simultaneously and quickly they are developing an intellectual Renaissance, an industrial development, an economic, social and political revolution. There are bandits along the Yangtse and pirates on the seacoast because the steamships have deprived the junkmen of their livelihood. The students and student class are turbulent because modern science and democracy are driving out the " vanishing authority " of the classics. The militarists have grown in power because the people have not yet had time to learn that the " decree of heaven " upon which all government is dependent is now to be expressed by themselves in ways and by means that they have still to discover.

In connection with this might be read a statement from a large group of missionaries from China:

Contact with other nations and the Renaissance have widened the horizon of the Chinese people; supplanted biased prejudice with open-mindedness; created a sense of need and a willingness to seek and accept help in meeting such need; created a desire for national unity; and, most of all, released dynamic forces of desire and

demand which should be seized and directed toward the upbuilding of the Kingdom of God.

The Christian religion has doubtless had its part in the social revolutions that are occurring but it is only one of several factors at work, and withdrawal of it would not stop the revolution; it would merely remove the most constructive element available for the rebuilding of the spirit of the people.

Three aspects of this prevalent social change affect missions: 1. Industrial development is occurring throughout the mission field accompanied by most of the evils and few of the alleviations of the same movement of the West.[3] There is no habitual weekly day of rest. Large industrial groups have gathered so rapidly that housing conditions are impossible. The effect on childhood and womanhood in Japan and in the industrial centres of China has proved disastrous. Mr. Gandhi has made earnest effort to stem the tide of factory development in India, urging the resumption of home industries in various forms. His acquaintance with English factory conditions makes him prefer to see India return to the darkest days of its history rather than " advance " by the hurtful path now laid out before it. When Sir Thomas Morrison wrote his book on *The Economic Transition in India* he spoke of rural, village India as " the India which is passing away " and of Bombay as " the presage of the future." There are some who welcome the change, but many share the feeling of an Indian nationalist quoted by Lord Ronaldshay: " What is the good of trying to improve Bombay? It is a foreign wen on the face of

[3] Maclennan, *The Cost of a New World,* Ch. III; Margaret E. Burton, *New Paths for Old Purposes,* Ch. III.

India. There is only one thing to do with it; abolish it."[4] But this is the counsel of despair. The industrial era will not be abolished in India or elsewhere. The social problem is to adjust relations and conditions until this era is a blessing and not a curse. A group of Indian men seemed to welcome the distinction that if industrialism is a way of making slaves of men, binding the man to the machine, it is a curse to West and East; but if it can be made a way of releasing personality, bringing to men results which have cost too dearly in the past, enriching life by replacing human labour with machine labour, it can be a blessing. Yet such a hope seems to many chimerical. Certainly the coming of industrialism into the village and local life of the Far East has wrought revolution and social distress which changes the outlook of millions of people. It has created a wealthy class over night and converted a multitude of labourers into toiling masses. That it has improved the economic condition of many people is natural; that it has yet accomplished this for the people as a whole is by no means proved. But it has made life more strenuous, far less meditative, far less fraternal. Dr. Robert E. Speer tells that

> One of the best Chinese in the country told us that in his judgment the Chinese people were among the happiest and best fed people in the world and that his chief economic fear was such intimate contact with the western nations as would upset the old scale of living and of wages and costs. His view was that China could not be upheaved economically by revolution springing from discontent.

The growth of labour consciousness is notable around

[4] Earl of Ronaldshay, *India: A Bird's-Eye View*, Ch. XIII.

the world, and it is a distinct class consciousness, antagonistic and assertive. President Hume, of Yale-in-China, listed this "unifying of industry," with its consequent labour consciousness, as one of the constructive facts of the Far East. In Japan the word for "strike" is an adaptation of the English word, for the idea came with Western industry.

2. The increase of Western education makes great social changes. Beginning with foreigners, it is being carried forward more rapidly by nationals. In one sense it is hardly fair to call it Western, for it belongs to humanity as such. Modern science and historical learning are not the possession of any group. If they emerged first in one place, that merely starts them in the world. It is to the honour of the Orient if it finds in them values for itself and adopts or adapts them quickly. Figures are speedily out of date, but some idea of the task may be guessed from the fact that the prevailing illiteracy of mission lands is from eighty to ninety per cent. In India there are 730,000 villages, ranging from the smallest to the largest. The problem of providing educational facilities for such social groups is a baffling one, especially when at least some elements of Western education seem needed, foreign to present Indian methods. Where shall teachers be found? Where shall financial support be found among a people so prevailingly poor as the masses of India? Illiteracy does not mean ignorance or lack of intelligence. An Indian friend who knows England and India well tells me the illiterate Indian peasant outmeasures the average English peasant. Orientals are a talking people who share each other's ideas, so the level of ordinary intelligence or receptiveness is higher than among the illiterate of educated people. But il-

literacy is a very heavy burden for a nation to bear, and leaders in the East realize the need for the wider intelligence that comes through literacy.

But the spread of the ideas involved in "Western" education brings serious complications. It raises economic problems. The new ideas bring new social desires. Housing becomes an issue. Family life cannot remain as it has been. Social customs are all interlocked so that changing one involves many others. I found a returned student wearing American clothing in his own land, without the attractive native costume, and challenged him for doing so. He replied that all his missionary friends raised the same question with him, advising him to be less "radical." But he said that he did not mean to be radical at all; it was a purely practical matter. The costume suitable to his position in his own land required a great deal of work on the part of his wife. Most wives of his acquaintance spent most of their time on their husbands' clothing. He was not willing his wife should give her time to this, and with his changed idea of home life and homemaking she could not do so. Abandonment of the native dress had been deliberate. This had involved also changes in the furnishing of his home, of which he gave details. He smiled rather ruefully in describing the amount of change required by one idea—the meaning of a home.

The newly educated group find themselves in environment not adapted to their new demands. While I was in India a daily paper editorially called on the government to limit the number of students attending the Arts colleges because it was now employing as many "A. B.'s" as it needed and the supply should not be increased unless someone could see a way to employ

them. Otherwise they were being educated away from their economic livelihood. Complaint on this ground was made to me in Egypt. The schools were taking young people away from their previous forms of living and not opening before them other ways. An official in Siam explained very reasonably that their plan is to give everybody the beginning of an education, three years for all; then to pick out some for the next stage and finally a very few for the highest education. "We want to escape the mistake made in the West which has created an opposition to manual labour. We are a farming country and must not educate our people away from the farm." Specially promising students are chosen, therefore, for advanced education; the others are kept on the level where their lives must be lived.

There are moral aspects to the matter. One of the first effects of the new education is to relax the old restraints. The newer restraints may be more effective and desirable but they come into use much later. A principal in India found that the Hindu girls of her school often stood the strain of village immorality better than newly Christian girls. For the latter, the old had been relaxed and the new not yet formed. Bondage was broken, but liberty had not been realized; everything was at loose ends.

The strain between the older and the newer generations is naturally severe at times, as occurs in any land. In losing regard for much that collides with the new ideas learned in school, young people lose regard also for virtues and values that cannot be replaced by anything. The best goes with the worst, and the loss is great. This happens in Christian lands quite as naturally. But there can be no wonder if observers

oppose all of the new because of its disregard of the values of the old. The very success of missionary schools is often an obstacle to the work of missions. They breed unrest by the new ideas they introduce, and unrest breeds opposition and misunderstanding.

3. The growth of governmental authority in many lands is a striking social phenomenon. Most social control hitherto has been local. It began with the tribe, and in that form continues in parts of Africa and of the Philippine Islands. It extended to provinces or social groups as in much of India, or it was expressed in villages and communities as in China. Only the smaller geographical areas, like Japan and Siam and Turkey, recognized a central government with any high degree of authority, and even here local control was much more definite than the higher mandate.

In recent years a far wider consciousness has developed. Nations displace communities; national duties take the place of merely local responsibilities. Divisions hitherto taken for granted, as between the religious groups in India, are no longer accepted. India should be above Hinduism or Islam. North and South must be forgotten in the interests of China. Even Turkey insists on replacing the vague feeling of religious unity expressed in Islam by a more definite geographical and racial unity which disregards Islam. At the very time when effort was being made in India to call Hindus to the support of the Moslem demand for the Caliphate, as a symbol of Moslem unity, the Caliphate was renounced by the Angora government and all claimants to it banished from the land. The unity of a common religion had given way to the unity of national life.

The interest throughout the Orient in the Russian

program of communism roots in this new concern for government rather than in any economic distress which hopes to be relieved by the new program. The soviet system gives to groups of men a sense of power and participation in control which is new to them, specially as it extends into wider relationships and affects other areas.

But this sense of government influences many interests. Most Eastern governments are taking entire control of education, directing its curricula, its methods, its forces. They have gone far beyond the claims of Western government, partly in the novelty of their experience of educational meaning and value. The prevailing demand is that all institutions must be "registered" with the government on conditions or regulations laid down by it. Conspicuous among these regulations is the elimination of required religious instruction in some cases and of all forms of religious instruction in others. One educational association, strongly influencing the government of its country, insists that no school shall be used for the propagation of any religious teaching. Many of the regulations are more rigorous than later experience will sustain, the example of Japan showing how an intelligent government modifies its requirements as they are put into use. Some are mere "paper laws;" laying out programs impossible of execution even in government institutions. But they raise the whole issue of loyalty to government, an issue which the Christian faith meets in only one way. No citizen, still less any foreigner, can be disobedient to the requirements of government in matters which lie within its power. The restrictions may seem a violation of religious and personal liberty, but this is according to the standards of other coun-

tries, and does not warrant disregard of the requirements, even if such disregard were possible.

Missionary forces fall into two groups at this point. Some would refuse to continue in educational work at all while these restrictions are in force, feeling that the missionary enterprise exists not for general education but for presenting Christ to the world and that such prohibition makes schools ineffective. It may be the business of some interested group to conduct general education but it is not missionary business. The other missionary group agree with this main purpose but hold that voluntary religious methods in education are more effective than required ones and that maintaining a Christian atmosphere and spirit in a school is a valid method of Christian propaganda. They would favour the continuance of the schools under the regulations, partly as an assurance of loyalty, and partly because they believe the Christian religion is best presented with a minimum of requirement and a maximum of liberty.

Dr. F. L. Hawks Pott, President of St. John's University, Shanghai, argues strongly against conforming to the legislation forbidding or unduly restricting religious teaching in schools. He agrees that the schools must suffer the disabilities for a time, but trusts the reasonableness of the Chinese people, who will see that such restrictions are fundamentally unjust. They will find that no nation has a right to put such restraint on education.

When the fury and the storm have passed, the Chinese will again assert their agelong reasonableness and they will be just. And if they see these Christian schools and colleges doing work of the first quality, and

if they see that they do not denationalize the Chinese, and if they see that because of their religious teaching and their religious influence they develop men and women of the finest character, the sort of men that China needs in this period of her history, then they will discover some way by which the Christian school and college can find a proper place in the educational work of the Chinese.[5]

Large numbers of mission schools have accepted the restrictions and most of them claim to find their religious opportunities as large as they can use. The case is complicated by the fact that the regulations generally permit registered schools to receive students from none but registered schools. If, therefore, an independently governed mission college registers, it shuts out the graduates of unregistered mission high schools and academies, crippling and limiting them fatally. A similar condition exists in Japan affecting Korea very closely where registration is made difficult by changing requirements on terms plausible but often impossible.

In the case of Mexico, under recent restrictions, government control is even more drastic. The Mexican Constitution and its regulating legislation make it illegal for religious corporations to hold property. Article 27 of the Constitution of 1917, recently put into effect, says that:

The bishoprics, rectories, seminaries, asylums, or schools of religious associations, convents, or any other buildings which shall have been constructed or destined for the administration, propaganda or teaching of a

[5] *Report of Foreign Missions Conference of North America,* 1926, p. 176.

religious cult, shall pass immediately, by inherent right, to the dominion of the Nation, to be destined exclusively to the public service of the Nation or States.

The same article forbids the control of charitable institutions by any minister of any sect. Foundations may be established to take over property under the direction of the nation, but no foreign citizen can be an official of such foundations. Aimed at abuses, the restrictions are burdensome on all who try to help Mexico.

Unhappily, conditions throughout Latin America are not altogether independent of nominal Christian causes. A missionary in Guatemala describes prevailing educational methods and ideals there and adds:

These problems and conditions make it absolutely necessary that education should be under the control of the government. If it were not, the Roman clergy would easily have the Liberal régime destroyed in a single generation. Our mission schools must necessarily follow the rule, for if we were allowed to go on outside of government control the Church (Roman) schools would demand it. Though we fully believe we could give the country better service if following exclusively our own program, yet we see the need of uniformity. Fortunately, the government program is not so strenuous but that we can easily fulfil it and still teach other necessary things.

Development of governmental power helps to strengthen national spirit and to increase resentment throughout any land against wrong conditions reported anywhere. At indignation meetings in India, one is apt to hear all speakers using the same incidents, remote from the place and not pertinent to the people

present, except that they have occurred in the experience of Indians somewhere and so have become the concern of Indians everywhere. Naturally, their adverse elements grow with the telling and modifying conditions are readily overlooked or forgotten. Riots between Moslems and Hindus in northern India have their repercussions in disturbances in southern India; once they would have passed without notice as being too remote for the concern of the south. The raiding of the Russian embassy in Peking sent a thrill throughout China in 1927. What was done in Peking five decades ago was a matter of small concern in Canton or Hankow; now it concerns the whole land because the land has a national consciousness not known before.

This tends to enhance the value of everything. In *The Forum* for July, 1927, Dr. Hu Shih, foremost among young Chinese scholars, speaks a kind word regarding the service heretofore rendered by the missionary movement, but holds out no hope for "the Christian occupation of China":

> It is true that there is much cheap argument in the narrow nationalistic attack which sees in the Christian missionary an agent of imperialistic aggression. But we must realize that it is nationalism—the self-consciousness of a nation with no mean cultural past—that once killed Nestorian Christianity, Zoroastrianism and Manicheism in China. It is the same nationalism which four times persecuted Buddhism and finally killed it after a thousand years of complete Buddhistic conquest of China. And it is the same national consciousness which is now resisting the essentially alien religion of Christianity.

So long as Christianity is conceived as "essentially

alien" it will be in danger from nationalism, but it actually is no more alien to China than it has been to every country which it has entered. Instead, the hope of its adherents is that it will be found as helpful to the nationalism of India and China, of Africa in its various parts, of Persia and Siam, as it has been to that of lands already counted Christian, little as they may deserve the name. A visitor would hardly have spoken of Buddhism in China as having been "finally killed" even now.

It should be noted that all these social changes bear much more heavily and disturbingly on the people of the lands themselves than they can possibly do on foreigners. A newspaper correspondent writes: "The situation in China (1927) is bad for all foreign interests, whether they be educational, commercial or religious; bad also for the Chinese." Not merely bad for the Chinese; much worse for them. In China 6,500 foreign business concerns and over 250,000 individuals were reported to be concerned with extraterritoriality, but no one calculated how many Chinese are concerned either directly through their employment or indirectly in their trade. Foreign lives have been lost in the disturbance, but it has cost a hundred lives of the people themselves for every foreign life—not at the hands of foreign governments but by their own forces. Much foreign-owned property has been destroyed, but vastly more Chinese-owned property. For every foreigner carried away by bandits for ransom, fifty Chinese have been carried away for the same reason. It is the Indians and the Japanese themselves who throng the unsuitable industrial centres. It is native customs that are disturbed, native practices that are ended, native industries that are closed by new

processes, native hearts that are broken by the new ways of the young and the disappearance of familiar religious occasions. The main revolutionary attack is not on foreigners nor on foreign ideas; it is on existing conditions, in the interests of something the newer day seems to demand. The deepest trouble in India is between Indians, in China between Chinese. Foreignism is involved everywhere but it is because it is accepted by some and denied by others in the land itself.

Can the missionary enterprise keep itself steady in these changes, serving as occasion may offer and frankly changing its own methods to meet the new day? It makes no surrender of its fundamental purpose or mission, but it can use all the opportunism of a changing world so far as method and practice are concerned. As those nations cannot return to the old day, so the missionary movement cannot live in a day that is gone but must set itself in order for the day that now is. It cannot say: "We know what we want to do and how we want to do it; if we can do it, very well; if not, we will not try." Rather, it says: "We know what we want to do and we mean to find the way to do it; if this is not the way, then there is another." John the Baptist said it for all time when he asked: "Art thou he that should come, or look we for another?" No suggestion of giving up if this was a mistaken hope; nothing but a new quest for the fulfilment of the hope in some other way. This is a new day, a day of immense changes; very well, then the Christian enterprise must find the new way.

III

The third challenging condition of this period is far more vital and serious than these two, for it strikes at

the root of the whole matter. Ought there to be any missionary enterprise at all? Is not religion a phase of human progress which is being rapidly surpassed? Is not each religion a cultural phenomenon belonging to the group which has it? Has any religion an ultimate validity so that it can be rightly offered to other people? Can any one religion be called the best?

In a " test-sheet " sent out regarding the reduction in missionary giving in America which post-dated the war, two suggestions to be considered were these:

Haziness and careless thinking about the uniqueness and finality of the Christian religion are widely current, and there is also a developing though perhaps poorly informed respect for certain admirable aspects of non-Christian faiths. In the desire to appreciate the good in the non-Christian religions the tendency often is to undervalue and apologize for Christianity. People are afraid to be too " Christian," lest the feelings of followers of other faiths be hurt.

There is in progress a revolution in religious thinking, due to the steady attritional process of the scientific method which tends to break down the sanctions of any authoritarian Church, book or doctrinal system. Along with other sanctions affected is that of the missionary imperative. The decline in giving may be simply one sign of a general decline of faith and conviction, and giving perhaps will not generally increase until a wide revival of faith and conviction comes about.

Dr. John Dewey and Professor Bertrand Russell told the Chinese students that religion represents a stage in human progress which is now being surpassed and that there is no occasion for this rising nation to traverse that stage. Education, science, philosophy, would

serve its needs better. This is the foundation for the word of Dr. Hu Shih in the article just mentioned.

More formidable than nationalism, there is the rise of rationalism. We must not forget that Chinese philosophy began two thousand five hundred years ago with a Lao Tse who taught a naturalistic conception of the universe and a Confucius who was frankly agnostic. . . . This cultural background of indigenous China is now revived with the new reenforcement of the methods and conclusions of modern science and becomes a truly formidable safeguard of the intellectual class against the imposition of any religious system whose fundamental dogmas, despite all efforts of apologists, do not always stand the test of reason and science. And, after all, Christianity itself is fighting its last battle, even in the so-called Christendoms.

The ground of this last judgment is interesting, but not part of the argument here. The young Chinese philosopher sets religion and reason over against each other, assuming that Christianity has no hope of continuance because it cannot meet the demand of reason. He might have heard this from many writers and lecturers in Christendom, for it is a common remark.

It was with this dispute that Professor Baillie dealt in his *The Roots of Religion in the Human Soul* and Professor W. P. Paterson in his book on *The Nature of Religion.* Both gave sound replies to the phase-argument against religion. So long as men continue to be human and not something else, the place of religion is what it has been. Man is not a creature of physical and social relationships alone, and he cannot be restricted to them either in China, India or elsewhere, at any stage of his advancement. His larger relationship asserts itself at all points. The work of

religion is not less but more needed in the new day of scientific development and economic advancement. These tend to knit him less and not more to his physical environment. The more his mastery of the world widens, the less the world satisfies his highest desires. He rises more rapidly in spirit than in body as his world comes under control. The forms of religion change with human progress; many must be left behind and new ones brought into use, but this does not disturb the roots of religion in the human soul out of which all forms grow. The missionary enterprise is out on the most permanent of all human errands when it sets out on an errand of religion. Neither nationalism or rationalism can seriously threaten it.

Special consideration is given elsewhere (Chapter VIII) to the discussion of the distinction between Christ and Christianity and to the attitude to be taken toward existing religions in the course of propaganda for Christ, but the fundamental assurance of the uniqueness and logical universality of the Christian faith in some essential form is the reply of the missionary enterprise to this third challenge.

The claim of the Christian faith to be ultimate and to be suited to all men lies at the foundation of the missionary purpose. If religion is essentially local so that no religion can be good for all men, without regard to their cultural background, then the Christian religion would naturally be limited. But its history is against that charge. Christianity is not one system, always the same. It has a central core in its Figure of Christ, but the form of the faith is subject to the modifications of each place and group where it is at work. It is very different in America from what it must have been in its origins; it is different from what

it was in its early days in America. The Christianity that will emerge in China in the days of complete national expression of it will be different again. Yet it is always the same in all ages and all lands. Christ builds Christianity around Himself, absorbing and rejecting former conditions and customs.

The religion itself always undergoes certain transformations, but it is essentially a transforming influence. It cannot leave some things unchanged. If it is supposed that " any religion is good enough for the man who holds it sincerely," the Christian religion contends the point. No religion is good enough for any man which is not good enough for every man. Religions with unworthy customs must be displaced by religion with worthier ways. Dr. Warneck, in *The Living Forces of the Gospel,* tells that

> The Pakpak tribe had a pleasant custom of strangling their parents and eating them when they were old. When Battak evangelists remonstrated with them, in all good conscience they replied, just as any British or American trader might have replied, " Every people has its own customs, and that is ours."

This idea of Christianity as a local custom conflicts directly with the missionary enterprise. It makes the presenting of Christianity to the world an impertinence, a mere arrogance on the part of its adherents. But, in turn, the deeper experiences with Christ conflict with the idea. If the truth which He presents about God is true at all, it makes other ideas about Him too partial to be satisfactory or else downright mistaken. If His teaching about sin is correct, then the need for salvation is the same everywhere. There is the same loving Father for all men and His message

of love in Christ is the same for all men. There is the same ideal of character, the same standard of life, the same law of love for all. All men can have the same chemistry, the same physics, the same biology—because the race is one in one world. A principle of physics discovered in London applies as readily in Calcutta. No Oriental student can say in a Chicago laboratory, "This chemical formula is well enough here, but in Peking University the formula may be quite different." In biology no national can say to another, "That is your custom; this is ours." If the human race is one, living in one moral order, under the hand of one God, there can be and there naturally would be one religion. It may be expressed in many terms, but it will run back to the same roots.

The problem is not solved by suggesting that after all the religions are the same, any more than one can say that the physics or the chemistry of all nations is the same. The religions are not the same, except in being in the field of religion, as chemical theories are all in the field of chemistry. Gradually the one that serves the need of men most fully displaces the others, as the theory that most fits the facts in chemistry displaces those that are defective.

This suggests what needs to be remembered—that religion must always make its way by methods suited to its nature. All improper and irreligious methods of religious propagation work their own defeat though they may sometimes bring immediate results. Some protests against missions reveal the need for this reminder. "Imposing" Christianity on others, "forcing" our faith on other people, "dragooning" men into Christianity, are utterly aside from either the facts or the purpose of the missionary enterprise. Wherever

methods suggesting those terms have been used, they ought to be repudiated instantly.[6]

To be sure, offering men the benefits of Christianity is an inevitable method of introducing and commending it. Opponents sometimes complain of hospitals and schools and industrial programs on the ground that they are no necessary part of religion. Not of some religions perhaps, but they are natural expressions of the Christian faith. It is never properly expressed without such benefits. Men may take the benefits without their cause if they wish. No one was ever forced into the Christian faith by his parents or teachers, nor by a nurse or a doctor. Think of the number in Christian lands who have all the benefits of Christianity and repudiate it completely. The same result can easily follow in mission lands. A Christian school is no coercion; many of the graduates never become Christians. A Christian hospital is no proselyting centre; witness the patients who leave it for their former religious practices. Improving farming conditions does not make men Christians in India any more than in Illinois. If all these things commend the Christian religion so that it can be considered on its merits, there is no concealment of the purpose to do so.

Those who carry on these projects do not do it on general principles nor on merely social grounds; they are religious people, out on a Christian errand confessedly, unashamedly. They are doing all that they do with the distinct hope of commending Christ and His faith to men who do not know Him. Nobody can be made to accept Him; the worst that can happen

[6] Many board and mission actions to this effect are quoted in the *Report of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America*, 1926, pp. 78-82.

would be for some to pretend to accept Him for the sake of the benefits of His religion. That would be bad, it is bad when it occurs, but it is a part of nobody's plan nor wish. Testing times do come, as now in China, as earlier in Japan and India and Africa, when those who never accepted Christ Himself drop away from all pretenses. They are good times for the religion; sincere advocates welcome them. "The sifting of the Church brings essential faith to light."

One good feature of the lifting of the level of life in mission lands is the revelation to all the people that personal religion cannot be pretended and that temporal benefits will not take the place of spiritual acceptance. At one level of life temporal benefits are an aid to religious understanding, at a higher level they may bind one to worldliness and so be a hindrance to religious life. "The poor have the gospel preached to them;" they never get so rich that they do not need it, but their riches may make them less sensitive to its meaning.

Happily, the days of sword-argument for religion are past. Anything that savours of the sword must be past also. But since the weapon of a real Christianity is love, it will always be proper to use in its behalf instruments and programs that are born of love for needy men.

VIII

THE ESSENTIAL MISSIONARY MESSAGE

IT has already been noted that the missionary enterprise is merely a first stage of the Christian movement. Its foreign agents tend to be displaced by national agents; its foreign methods tend to disappear before native methods; its institutions must lose their foreignness as rapidly as nationals can take them into control. For this reason missionary leaders are under peculiar obligation to give the movement a true start, so that in its later stages there may be as little to undo as possible—nothing, if that could be. Native Christians ought not to have to unlearn anything they learned from foreigners, though they may pass on to vast fields which were not surveyed in the earliest stages. This gives immense meaning to the question of the essential message which the missionary enterprise shall set itself to deliver. It ought to be the message which the Christian movement will continue to deliver, with all developments and redirections that may be needed. What Christianity may become in any given place is always open to discussion, and it is for the national life itself to determine. But what Christianity is in its heart and essence it is too late for anybody to try to determine; all he can do is to try to discover it. Framing a desirable system and labelling it "Christianity," is indefensible if it is not kept fairly within historical bounds. Missionaries have to find the vital, germinal religion of Christ and introduce it.

The case is not quite so clear as is sometimes made out. For the missionary enterprise remains after the Christian movement gets under way, and its leaders cannot be expected always to talk in alphabetic or kindergarten terms of the faith they are introducing. On paper it is a simple thing to decide what a missionary ought to teach, but on one's two feet or sitting in the presence of inquiring minds it is not so simple. A very widely accepted book on the matter has been Dr. E. Stanley Jones' *The Christ of the Indian Road,* acceptable equally on the mission field and among home supporters. Its thesis is that Christ and Christ alone is the missionary message. If anyone supposes, however, that Dr. Jones takes a narrow view of what it means to present Christ he has only to read the book to discover his own error. Before he is through with it Dr. Jones is having to discuss the Virgin Birth of our Lord, the miracles, the value of the Old Testament, and other collateral subjects. He never intended it to be otherwise. His whole claim is that such things shall be held in the light of Christ and Christ not held in their obscurity. Christ carries the Virgin Birth; the Virgin Birth does not carry Christ. " The simple gospel " never stays simple; it merely starts that way. Nothing worth while stays simple or it could not go with a man into his complex and demanding life.

Large groups of young Christians asked questions after my lectures and in the list almost none was missing which thoughtful Christians ask anywhere. Missionaries in Siam face the same questions I face in my own theological classroom in America, the inevitable ones which the fact of Christ invokes. If I had cared to say in India, " Never mind about the Trinity," the answer would have been, " But how are we to

think of Christ as our Saviour if He cannot be God to us? And if He is God, how is He so?" If I had thought it well to say to Chinese hearers, "Merely believe in Christ; do not bother about the inspiration of the Bible," the maturer ones would have asked how far they could depend on the story of Christ in the Bible and on what ground they could explain the peculiar power of the Bible—a perfectly obvious Christian phenomenon. The theory sometimes held in the West implies that new believers in mission lands are and always remain children, whereas they are seldom children to begin with and they have inquiring minds beyond most Westerners.

The problems that vex Western believers emerge in the East, in some form, before the missionary is out of the scene. He cannot postpone them for the Church to settle when it develops its independent life, as he might be glad to do.

For all that, the question is a vital one: What is the missionary enterprise trying to introduce in mission lands?

1. Certainly not Western civilization. No one ever suggests the possibility except to condemn it. Much of Western "civilization" is not civilized enough nor Christian enough to be introduced anywhere. All of it is more or less shot through with local and geographical and racial elements. The impression has somehow been received in mission lands that this is the intention of the missionary enterprise. Dr. Jones quotes a Hindu as saying almost incredulously:

> Do you mean to say that you are not here to wipe out our civilization and replace it with your own? Do you mean that your message is Christ without any im-

plication that we must accept Western civilization? I have hated Christianity, but if Christianity is Christ, I do not see how we Indians can hate it.

Another Hindu, Mr. Natarajan, of Bombay, published his opinion in 1923:

The European War, and no less the European peace, have discredited the Christianity of the churches. The Christian missionary has no chance of getting a hearing now, unless he distinguishes between Christ and Christianity and between Christianity and Western civilization. The material wealth, the political power and the dazzling civilization which at one time undoubtedly helped Christian missions in this country, have now become its great hindrance. Some missionaries to my knowledge used to discant on these things as the result of Christianity, and point the moral to Indians that the adoption of Christianity would lead to political power and material wealth. This was obviously wrong. In any case the wheel has turned and the Christian missionary has rather to apologize for Western civilization as that term is ordinarily understood.[1]

Still another Hindu writer puts it bitterly:

The missionary is the representative of a society, a polity, a social system, a religion and a code of morality which are totally different from our own. He comes as a belligerent and attacks our time-honoured customs and institutions, our sacred literature and traditions, our historical memories and associations . . . he wishes to destroy our society, history and civilization. . . . The missionary is the most dreadful adversary we have to meet, the greatest enemy of dharma and Hindu national life in the present age.[2]

[1] Speer, *Church and Missions*, p. 172.
[2] Farquhar, *The Crown of Hinduism*, p. 33.

Intelligent missionaries would quickly repudiate any such intention or desire. Much of the national life commands their loyal approval and for much of it they feel no responsibility whatever. If there are unChristian elements in it, they emerge of themselves, not by the quest of missionaries.

It is a missionary of experience who adds:

> There is, in fact, a real danger today of thinking of missions so much in terms of a world-movement that is gradually Westernizing all peoples that even missionaries, who on the whole have worthy motives, are placing entirely too much emphasis upon those things in their work in which the West is so peculiarly rich and not enough upon the things of the spirit which are, after all, quite independent of the external things which mean so much to us modern Western Christians.[3]

The adverse judgments just quoted do rest on a basis of fact if not of intention, however. No matter how simple the Christian message may be kept it does introduce troublesome factors into social life; it does tend to change civilization. It is the most disturbing influence in the West today. By it Western civilization is most radically condemned or judged. And it will disturb Eastern civilization as certainly as it is introduced in the East. How far it will do so is no issue of the missionary; that will be for the East itself to say. Where Eastern civilization is already worthy according to humane standards, Christianity will fit into it better than into the West. But no missionary intelligently seeks to bring Western civilization or customs or theories as his essential message.[4]

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[3] Reischauer, *The Task in Japan*, p. 41.
[4] Edward C. Moore, *West and East*, p. 62.

2. Nor does the missionary enterprise have Western Christianity as its essential message. Some of that, at least part of its expression, is not worth introducing anywhere; much of it is sure to reappear in the developing Church in the East. A system properly develops around Christ when thinking men follow Him. The system has taken many forms and naturally all the forms have much in common. With all the divisions of Christendom it is still true that the most widely separated Christian sects have more in common than any one of them has with non-Christian opinions. But how to differentiate between the germinal and the developed features maintained by each church is always a problem. The Presbyterian Church, for example, claims to be a Christian church, expressing the Gospel of Christ in suitable and effective ways. It would be hard to draw a line in its life, leaving on one side the things that are really vital in Christianity, and on the other the unnecessary things. If it wishes to give the Gospel of Christ to other men, how much shall it give? I use this church as illustration because I know it best and because it has solemnly declared that its missionary plans do not include the reproduction of itself in other lands. But suppose it takes its details seriously as it does its essentials, as is the case with some churches, or suppose it does not admit the distinction between details and essentials at all, how shall it present the Gospel without trying to reproduce itself entirely?

One observes on the mission field with pain how generally the divisions among Christians are reproductions of Western divisions. In Egypt we made up a list of thirteen little split-offs or sects within the Christian body, and none of them was a bona fide Egyptian

product; all had originated in some foreign mind, either in Egypt or in foreign lands. A few native cleavages have occurred in other lands, but even these are for the most part induced by foreign conditions or counsel. Cleavages are quite sure to appear in a widening enterprise, but it seems little enough to ask that they be allowed to form themselves and not be formed by outsiders. And there are striking instances where missionaries and native brethren have refused to perpetuate Western divisions and have accomplished unity far beyond that of the West.

Yet the initial form of the Christian movement is very apt to be that from which the foreign leaders have come. When new believers are to be baptized or when a Christian brotherhood is to be formed or officers are to be chosen for the newly erected church the history of the missionary workers operates immediately. Training has been in that line, the instruction naturally goes on in that direction; how could it be otherwise? Elaborate creeds are seldom reproduced and the simpler elements of church distinction first appear. It is later that anything like Western conditions develop. Some believers want it so because they think those conditions best; some would not have it so because they do not know whether those conditions fit the new believing group or not. But no malice or arrogance is involved in such beginnings.

The situation becomes unworthy when two Christian groups exist in the same area and fail to maintain complete harmony and unity, one sitting in judgment on the other, refusing to recognize their essential oneness in Christ. Comparatively little of this occurs but a very small amount is too much when every Christian move is so conspicuous. In Syria I found an American

divisive group pushing into places where the work was much better left to existing Christian agencies; its leaders explained that their call to evangelize did not exclude anyone. In a few communities it had already set group against group, to the shame of the faith. In most mission lands comity has developed, allotment of territory prevails, and the only trouble is in the bewilderment of believers who pass from one area to another and discover how complicated Christianity can be in different hands.

Even so, few missionaries have any wish or purpose to introduce Western Christianity or churches as their essential message.

3. Nor even a "Western Christ," in the usual connotation of the term. The difficulty deepens as we come to the centre of the message, Christ Himself. No one has ever stated clearly what is meant by "Eastern" or "Western" as applied to Christ. I asked often in mission lands what it means to call Christ "Western" as Keshub Chunder Sen did in his protest, but I could never learn. If it means in "Western" language, the reply is that as soon as the native language can be intelligibly used, the Western terms ought to be dropped. If it means with Western theology, the reply is that this is almost inevitable because the faith has travelled from the West; but the theology does not change its central Figure. If it means with Western ideas, the reply is that Western ideas about Christ have been largely derived from the East. Whatever it means to present a "Western" Christ, as distinguished from a universal Christ, it is not the business of the missionary enterprise. A little later in this discussion some of the difficulties involved in this apparently simple declaration must be pointed out.

4. Affirmatively, then, the essential message of the missionary enterprise is Jesus Christ. He is the distinguishing fact in the Christian religion; He is the supreme Judge of all civilization; He is the one great reality which the world sadly needs and does not find in any of its existing faiths. The business of missions is to make Jesus Christ known to the world. The wording of the *Manual* of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions would be accepted by most societies and missionaries:

The supreme and controlling aim of foreign missions is to make the Lord Jesus Christ known to all men as their divine Saviour and to persuade them to become His disciples; to gather these disciples into Christian churches which shall be self-propagating, self-supporting and self-governing; to co-operate, so long as necessary with these churches in the evangelizing of their countrymen, and in bringing to bear on all human life the spirit and principles of Christ.

Most missionaries would approve the statement of Bishop Cassels, of Western China:

We are not sent here to transplant a fully grown exotic which has already developed its colouring and characteristics from a distant clime; such a process would ruin the vitality of any tree. Our work is to sow the seeds of truth, and allow the tree, which is indigenous of every soil and (as Paul says) bears fruit in all the world, to adapt itself, as it grows, to its local surroundings whether they are favourable or unfavourable. The fundamentals of the Truth are, of course, unalterable; but the non-essentials must be adapted to varying needs and capacities, and we have no right to impose upon a people of an utterly different tempera-

ment regulations which have grown up to suit the character of a Western nation. I seek, then, for a wide spirit of adaptation, and for grace to balance my judgment by that of the leaders in our Chinese churches.[5]

The Chairman of the Shanghai Conference of 1922, Mr. C. Y. Cheng, declared in his opening address:

Christianity is seriously handicapped in China at the present time by being regarded as a foreign religion. This handicap should be removed and Christianity, which is a universal religion and is capable of adapting itself to the needs of every land in every age, should become naturalized in China.

And this is no new idea. When the Church Missionary Society sent Samuel Marsden to New Zealand in 1794, his instructions were:

Ever bear in mind that the only object of the society, in sending you to New Zealand, is to introduce the knowledge of Christ among the natives, and in order to this, the arts of civilized life.

Thirty years later he commented on this commission:

Civilization is not necessary before Christianity; do both together if you will, but you will find civilization follow Christianity more easily than Christianity follow civilization.[6]

There has never been any serious theoretical doubt that the central duty of missions is to make Christ known, with all other matters secondary. And it is all

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[5] Broomhall, *Life of Bishop Cassels*, p. 231.
[6] Walsh, *Modern Heroes of the Mission Field*, Ch. V.

perfectly simple until one begins to do it. Then the complexity of the task and of its methods emerges.

II

For, when we have said that the purpose is to make Christ known, large questions arise.

1. Who is Christ? Is He the historical figure, demanding interpretation and understanding, or is He only the object of present experience as Saviour and Master? The two ideas can be separated where He is already well known, but not where He is being introduced. He must be spoken of as an historical figure with some traits rather than others. He is an incarnation of God, a divine-human being, or He is something else. There are ways of thinking about Him that cut the nerve of missions, as is evidenced by the lack of missionary zeal on the part of the groups who hold these views. Of course Christ as a great human instance of religious achievement is worth talking about anywhere, but it is doubtful if He will seem worth introducing to nations who have figures of a similar character, differing from Him only in degree. At any rate, that idea has not driven many men into changing their whole life-habit so that others may know about Him. Nor does the idea tend to found churches and develop Christian movements. Is the Christ of missions made known if new observers fail to see Him as an incarnate Saviour? Or can something simpler and earlier in the process of discovery be presented, with assurance that honest followers will find the fuller faith?

The principal criticism to which Dr. Stanley Jones' *The Christ of the Indian Road* has been subjected hardly does it justice, but it strikes at this issue. Dr. Jones urges that Christ be given and that India be left

to interpret Him in its own terms. Dr. Hodge, of Princeton, objects to this part of the program:

We cannot leave India to put its own interpretation on Jesus any more than we can leave America or England or Germany to do so. The Western creeds, from which Dr. Jones would have Jesus "disassociated," have value and authority only in so far as they accurately state and make clear the truths about Christ given by Revelation. But in so far as they do this, they are valid for all times and for all lands. . . .

It goes without saying that Christ the Lord can be trusted with any country of the earth. But it is also true that no country of the earth can be trusted "to interpret Christ" for itself. This would leave Jesus of Nazareth to be the sentimental object of India's aspiration, instead of giving India the Christ who has revealed Himself and God in the Bible. And what is true of India is true of America. We can trust America to Christ, but we cannot trust Christ to be interpreted by America.[7]

In the same critique Dr. Hodge speaks of the "anti-doctrinal attitude" of Dr. Jones, which is not far from what he really means, though he is much too sensible to have omitted frank words about the necessity for doctrine in the long run. "It is Christ who unites us; it is doctrine that divides." The plea here is that the doctrine ought to take its rise out of the experience of believers and not be the foundation of that experience. And, as is the case generally, when earnest Christian men differ, something can be said for both. Of course there are truths about Christ with which a man has to start before he can have any experience. No missionary can speak of Christ except on some terms of belief about Him. Trying to present Christ but no opinion

[7] *Princeton Theological Review*, Oct., 1926, p. 678 ff.

about Him is intellectual nonsense. But surely it is clear that the greater and more testing doctrines of Christ have their place farther along in the experience of the Christian life than that of missionary introduction. They came into sight only in the later experience of the first believers. Peter did not begin with a sound and complete doctrine of the Person of Christ; he merely set out to follow Him for what he saw Christ to be at the time. Following, he came into sight of the larger truths regarding Him. The doctrine of Christ is later than the New Testament, though its data are all there. The missionary task is to get men started with Christ. The form of their doctrine regarding Him will be much influenced by what they bring to Him in the first place. Something they must know or it would be foolish to propose their allegiance, but the freedom of Christian experience would be greatly cramped by identifying allegiance to Christ with any full-fledged doctrine which the Western world has framed.

Dr. Howard Bliss lived a notable missionary life in Syria. Son of a missionary family, he succeeded his father as head of the American University of Beirut. In an article just before his death he urged that the modern missionary "bids his hearers formulate their thoughts of Christ in their own way, provided they retain the authority of His leadership." They may call Him Saviour, Redeemer, Teacher, Master, Guide, Son of God, Son of Man, or be speechless for lack of words, according to what He proves to be in their lives. The only thing desired is that He shall still be recognized as authority in life.[8] Of course this involves theology, a vigorous differentiation between Christ and

[8] Bliss, *The Modern Missionary.*

anybody else. But equally of course it involves no dictation nor previous determination of what a believer must find in Christ. It would be interesting to review the proposed terms in Dr. Bliss's list to discover which of them by itself would send a man around the world to present Christ to somebody else. "Call Him by no name, but follow Him!" But would anyone follow One whom in his own heart he did not count worthy of allegiance? We have no rational right to follow just anybody; who is this Christ who deserves our following? We must start with something; we need not start with all we shall one day discover. No one can possibly dictate to another what he must see in Christ before he begins to follow him. Giving to new believers our own full assurances might be helpful in some cases; it might be bewildering in others. Christ Himself never bewilders; He starts with a child and yet He remains with the sage.

Dr. Jones and Dr. Bliss say what missionaries widely say: It is Christ who is the central message of the missionary enterprise—not the doctrine about Christ which is wholly legitimate and even essential at a later stage of experience with Him. Doctrine does grow out of life, and life grows out of doctrine, but the richer doctrine grows out of the fuller life. The missionary enterprise is to start a life, not to plant a doctrine. The collateral elements of the Christian experience: full appreciation of the Bible, the validity of the Church and its order, the completed doctrine of God, the detail of future hopes, and many more truths are unavoidable as life develops. Missionaries can be of help in them, and as rational beings they cannot be indifferent to them in the earliest stages, but they ought to bring Christian believers to the liberty of faith, to set their feet on a highway of

discovery and then to leave them to the guidance of the Holy Spirit who is to guide them into all the truth. A missionary tells in a current magazine of her experience in giving a number of Pathans copies of the Bible in their own tongue. They received them with courteous gratitude and without argument:

I was thankful. I wanted only that they should read the Gospels; that they, at least while they read, should see the form of the Son of God, whom they honoured only as a prophet, and hear His words of life; perhaps they, too, would fall at His feet, crying, " My Lord and my God! " There is strong magic in those little books, and no one ever knows whom they may enthrall. " The wind bloweth where it listeth," and even strong Pathans have delighted to call themselves " bond-servants of Jesus Christ."

That is fairly characteristic of true missionary purpose. It is well expressed in the saying:

The strength of Christianity consists in its being primarily not a view but a life, a spiritual religious life, requiring, implying, definite doctrines concerning God and man and their relations to each other, but never exhausted by these doctrines even in their collectivity, inexhaustible though these in their turn are by their union with the life of the spirit, their origin and end.[9]

Christ is presented when He is made known with sufficient clearness to deserve and command the allegiance of human hearts. Nothing is true about Him which is not winsome; nothing is important for missions which does not make Him magnetic. Anything that leads one worker to discount another evidently comes from narrowing the view of Christ. Saying that

[9] Baron von Hugel, *The Mystical Element in Religion,* I, p. 49.

another man is not Christian because he says something about Christ which differs from what I say implies that I am saying the full word that needs to be said and that other aspects of Christ are unreal—an absurd suggestion.

2. Our duty is to make Christ known; but when is He "known"? At what point in relation to Him does one become a Christian? Can He be known if He is not yet a Saviour from sin? What does "salvation" mean? What shall we offer men as the result of their allegiance to Christ? A group of Siangtan Christians made a "Declaration" in 1927 which included the clause:

> We consider that all preaching on individual salvation and emphasis on other-world religion is opposed to the progress of society.[10]

But is it possible to accept the social ethics of Jesus without acknowledging Him as Saviour and Lord? Dr. Klausner's study of *Jesus of Nazareth* closes with a careful chapter on what Jesus means to the Jews:

> To the Jewish nation He can be neither God nor the Son of God in the sense conveyed by belief in the Trinity. Either conception is to the Jew not only impious and blasphemous but incomprehensible. . . . (Neither can He be the Messiah, nor a prophet, nor a lawgiver, nor the founder of a new religion.) . . . But Jesus is, for the Jewish nation, a great teacher of morality and an artist in parable. He is the moralist for whom, in the religious life, morality counts as—everything.

Every loyal follower of Christ will rejoice in so much of allegiance to Him, but Dr. Klausner would not wish to be thought of as a Christian because of this. Would

[10] *Chinese Recorder,* April, 1927, p. 294.

the missionary enterprise do its work if it brought Christ to other men in this light and ended there?

Opinion differs about the wisdom of calling Mr. Gandhi a "Christian." He says he is not one in the accepted sense, though he draws much of his inspiration from the teaching and example and ministry of Christ. Mr. Gandhi counts himself a Hindu because Hinduism as a whole brings him fullest spiritual satisfaction. Yet no one could have received more courtesy than I received at the college which he has founded at Ahmedabad, when I lectured as an acknowledged Christian propagandist before faculty and students in their beautiful open-air assembly. Mr. Gandhi urges India to read and ponder the New Testament. Dr. Jones speaks of him as the greatest living non-Christian; many missionaries spoke of him as the greatest Christian force in India today; other missionaries feared his influence lest it stop India half way to Christ. Is Christ "known" when partial glimpses of Him are received? Is He Saviour when His social influences alone are acknowledged? Missionaries do not agree on this any more than their supporters at home.

One thing may be insisted upon in the discussion; that all shall welcome the widening of the following of Christ as greatly as possible. Be sure that He Himself desires men to follow where they can even though others may make a larger commitment of themselves. The Christian movement can never be maintained on partial commitments, on "this-world" or "other-world" salvation, on "social-progress" theories or without them. But it often carries these partial commitments along with it and draws aid from them. It is like a stream running through a plain, its main current in one channel, but welcoming the output of tiny

springs, expressing itself in flooding rivulets and shallow places, and refusing no fellowship with its own kind in any stream it meets.

Christ has begun to be known whenever a man sees in Him that which commands allegiance. He does not do it on cheap terms, but He accepts followers who are eager to learn more fully who He is as well as those who think already they know all about Him. There is no relief from serious and divisive discussion except in steady devotion to Christ as one sees Him and eagerness to find devotion to Him in other men, wanting Him to have as many followers as possible, both because He deserves them and because they need Him. No man can set out sincerely to follow Christ as "a" way of life without discovering that he is "the" way of life. Inevitably the issue is joined: it proves to be not Christ *and* others but Christ *or* others. But that issue is not formed nor framed by the missionary; it arises of itself. New believers may be trusted to face it when they have had Christ presented to them.

One earnest word may be said here: The problem for Christian people is not how little they can give, how reduced a Christianity they can introduce, how untroubled a unity they can present, but rather how to maintain so fine a Christian spirit that they can give everything they have without asking anyone to sacrifice his freedom of faith. Missionaries ought to be maximalists in their creeds, not minimalists. But they may be expected to magnify the germinal things as the only test things, giving anything else as an enrichment from experience which is shared with others. No man knows too much for missionary teaching; the peril is that he will know things out of proportion, not distinguishing between the trunk of the tree and its outer limbs or

twigs. It has been well said that "Christianity is at once final and interminably progressive." [11]

III

The Christian message is delivered, however, where a religious message is already known. "In the history of mankind there has never been a tribe of men without some form of religion." The religions already accepted range from the simpler animism of pagan tribes to higher metaphysical faiths. They make varied forms of appeal to their adherents, as can be observed also in Christian lands. Many degrees of devotion have developed regarding them. This is both an advantage and a difficulty for a missionary enterprise. The prevalence of religion makes it unnecessary in most places to make the fundamental plea for the validity of religion itself. A desire for religion already exists. The difficulty of the coming of a new religion is that adherents of the existing forms love them or they do not. If they do, they ask why another should come; if they do not, they ask why they should accept another. Many missionaries spoke of these two attitudes and their tendency to set the Christian faith in unfavourable light. Even this difficulty turns into an advantage: those who love the old religions are prepared to find value in the new if it serves their spiritual need; those who have turned away from the old have often a keen sense of loss of the values they have surrendered along with the faults which drove them from their former allegiance. If the Christian faith has what the former faiths lacked, it draws to it any who have a feeling of need.

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[11] H. R. Mackintosh, *The Originality of the Christian Message*, p. 177.

At least two other religions aspire to become world faiths—Buddhism and Islam. The adherents of others believe their faiths contain what the world needs, though they have no program of world-conquest. In his *Hinduism, the World Ideal,* Harendranath Maitra says:

> In studying Western civilization I have felt that there is something wanting. This something India has. If we want to avert all future wars, even the possibility of war, we must humbly sit on a prayer-rug, instead of always rushing about in motor-cars.

Christianity is not the only faith out on a world mission.

This raises the question of the attitude to be taken toward existing faiths. Dr. Rawlinson's phrase, "Christo-centric broadmindedness,"[12] is arresting. Anything like dogmatic antagonism or wholesale condemnation or contemptuous opposition is alien to the Christian spirit. Christ took no such attitude toward the faiths of the men to whom He was presenting His own plea from God. Dr. Farquhar has heard very few addresses from missionaries which included any adverse words regarding existing faiths.[13] In my own lectures I made no comparisons between Christianity and any other religion; my business was to present the Christian faith and let it make its own argument. At the close of one lecture, during the question hour, a young man asked me why I thought Christianity a better religion than Hinduism, but I had no chance to answer, for another man spoke up at once to remind him that I had left that for them to decide, and had said nothing

[12] *Chinese Recorder,* March, 1926.
[13] Farquhar, *The Crown of Hinduism,* pp. 34 ff.

whatever about Hinduism or anything else but Christianity. A lawyer, presiding graciously at one of the lectures, explained to the audience that he had come expecting to have occasion to reply to attacks on his own faith, only to find that I had shown nothing but the most courteous attitude toward his faith and had given him the chance to consider this wider faith called Christianity on its merits, " and every man has a right and duty to do that." Many missionaries told me that they never said anything about other religions except in response to questions, and then in private conversations or small group discussions. As for attacks on the religions of other men, they are most infrequent, and are more apt to occur (sometimes unwisely) in publications to be read and meditated upon than in public speech where a speaker seems to have an unfair advantage.

Any element in other faiths that shows likeness to the Christian faith or expresses in its own terms the deep-running realities with which religion always has to deal, should be sought out and welcomed by Christian propagandists. I was told several times by native Christians that missionary students and writers found larger virtues in the existing faiths than they themselves had observed. It is only fair to note that the religious books of other faiths are more widely available through the efforts of Christian scholars than at the hands of their own adherents. Christian observers learn to rejoice in all evidences of good that have come from these great faiths, most of them older than Christianity. Any form of sainthood that can be traced to them when they have risen to their heights should be gladly taken as proof that in them also God has not left Himself without witness.

Christ said of the Judaism which His faith was to supplant in so many hearts that He had not come to destroy it but to fulfil it. Yet fufilling it was accompanied by the ceasing of much that its adherents had held dear. The temple lost its function for them, the system of sacrifices ended, the ritual, the ceremony, the outward expression were all negated while its core was being preserved and fulfilled. It may prove so with other faiths. Dr. Farquhar writes of Christianity as the "crown of Hinduism," and a recent visitor in mission lands observed with enthusiasm that "Christ is saving Buddha and Krishna" as well as their adherents.

The later forms of Buddhism are Christianized. The department of government which is responsible for the maintenance and control of Buddhist places of worship in Siam is called in English "The Ecclesiastical Department," and its head spoke to me easily of the priests as "ministers" and of the temples as "churches." Much of the Christian doctrine of "grace" has found expression in the prevailing form of Buddhism in Japan. "Hinduism must become Christian or die," said an Indian in my hearing. A Chinese scholar said to me that Christianity is the hope of Confucianism, for in it the earthly ethics of Confucius could be saved and the spiritual needs of its adherents met as Confucianism could not meet them. If all this should prove true, intelligent Christian believers would be only confirmed in their faith.

This suggests no amalgamation with existing faiths. Christianity did not prove to be a mere modification of Judaism. Dr. Klausner will not admit that Jesus was merely a Jew; He "became a Christian." The early leaders were not mistaken when they developed

a system that was non-Jewish; it was inherent in Christ's teaching. He, and not Paul, was the Founder of Christianity. The Christian Church has not "gone astray after Paul." And Christianity in mission lands will not prove a mere modification of existing faiths. It will fulfil them as it fulfilled Judaism for multitudes of men, and in its fulfilling there will be again, as then, radical changes and what seem to be destructions. Christ's call in His own day was imperative, "Follow me." When men followed they presently found themselves in areas where the old way of thinking of God and sin and duty could no longer avail. They found themselves adherents of a different religion. Dr. Farquhar notes that "the differences between Christianity and other faiths are not negligible." No amalgamation is possible; none is desirable. But no violent or aggressive displacement is either desirable or necessary. No warfare between religions has ever been for the good of the race. When men face the claims and offer of Christ they make their own decision regarding the faith they have held; they find its fulfilment or its destruction, not by explanation of friend or foe but within their own hearts.

The effort at syncretism or the eclectic attitude toward all religions is very attractive to some minds. Christianity can always win favour as one among many religions to which a believer might adhere. A Japanese scholar, Professor K. Kume, said:

In what religion, then, do I believe? I cannot answer that question directly. I turn to the Shinto priest in case of public festivals, while the Buddhist priest is my ministrant for funeral services. I regulate my conduct according to Confucian maxims and Christian morals.

Most students think that the famous Japanese Bushido is a syncretism of Shinto, Confucianism and Buddhism. Official and voluntary conferences are sometimes held by representatives of the various faiths in the interest of public morality. Any contribution the Christian forces can make to such programs is gladly made, but no amalgamation has ever proved vital. Indeed, it is historically likely that Nestorian Christianity failed in China in the ninth century because of its " compromise " with other faiths.

Professor Hume picks out " three features of Christianity which cannot be paralleled anywhere among the religions of the world ":

(1) The Character of God as a Loving Heavenly Father. " One essential and unique feature of Christianity is the teaching that God is a wise, holy, serviceable Sovereign of the whole world, who in His love and righteousness experiences suffering for the sins of His human children, and who patiently and successfully is helping to redeem men from their sins into the likeness of His own perfect character."

(2) The Character of the Founder as Son of God and Brother of All Men.

(3) The Work of a Divine Universal Holy Spirit. " Christianity is the only religion which teaches as a doctrine of great practical as well as Scriptural importance that there is at work in the world a divine Universal Holy Spirit, indwelling, teaching, suggesting, reprimanding, inspiring, transforming, available for every individual who will open his heart to this divine inner influence." [14]

Such essential elements in the Christian faith cannot

[14] Hume, *Living Religions of the World,* pp. 271-276.

be absorbed into existing faiths without making them other faiths than they now are.

I note four aspects of the Christian faith which come into the foreground as the need of the world is faced:

1. It is a religion of grace. Several groups of believers spoke of their gratitude for the sense of liberty secured in their Christian faith. All straining to meet a series of requirements was gone. Salvation is accepted, not achieved. God comes all the way with His love; He need not be secured by proper programs carefully obeyed. Two earnest young Hindus raised the question whether Christianity as a gift and not a reward would not result in indolent lives but they agreed it actually leads to vast activity and self-denying service; only, the service is not for personal salvation, but for the good of others. One of them said, "I see; Christians are expected to practice their religion out of gratitude rather than for hope of something; whereas we practice ours for what may be gained by us through it." The distinction was not mine but his.

This element of grace explains the heavy Christian stress on the worth of all individuals. Differences of caste and rank do not measure the divine favour. The ground of God's goodness is in Himself, not in the man to whom He is good. After a lecture in India the chairman reminded the audience that Christianity had come into India with a message for the poorest and worst outcasts; he hoped it would win them all unless the Indian faith to which he himself adhered developed some sense of their value. Christianity does not examine groups of men to see if they are worth attention. All are necessarily within the love of God. The offer of God's love is of His own grace, not of human achieve-

ment. All men must be valued, since God loves them all alike.

2. Christianity is a religion of divine love. The relation of God to men is not indifference, nor contempt, nor identification. He is not a total social concept nor the totality of all that is nor the sum of all the goodness in the world nor a multitude of beneficent or malevolent powers. He is a Being who loves and is loved, is addressed and answers, helps in need, comforts in distress. This underlies the Christian idea of incarnation. God becomes incarnate for the sake of helping men whom He loves and who need Him, not to satisfy any curiosity or desires of His own. It underlies the idea of the Trinity which reveals God as inherently a loving Being.

3. Christianity is a religion of sacrifice. A Chinese hearer asked me whether our faith found its symbol of the cross an asset or a liability. A young inquirer in Siam wondered whether the Christian movement would not prosper better if it said less about the cross. A thoughtful Indian Christian felt that Christianity might lose by accenting grace instead of works. All these merely renew the issue which Christianity has faced from the first. The answer of history in many lands is not uncertain; the cross is the principal asset of the Christian faith. It reminds believers of Calvary with its revelation of the heart of God and also of the call of Christ to sacrificial service. After a lecture on the Christian conviction regarding salvation, a Hindu chairman advised the audience to go out quietly to meditate and pray rather than to argue, because the love of the cross of Christ is beyond argument, "if humanity needs it and God is great enough to give it, the human heart ought to be quiet in its presence."

The sacrifice of God in Christ is a challenge to personal sacrifice. Western people should realize that missionary sacrifice is not obvious to many Indians, Chinese, Siamese. It is no hardship to be living in their beloved lands, mingling with the people whom they themselves prefer. Missionaries live in better homes, with more servants, more obvious conveniences, more appearance of ease, than average nationals know. They disappear every few years on furlough for a long journey which is fabulously impossible to the nationals; they appear to have goodly amounts of money and an amazing freedom of initiative. They seem very little dependent on other people, whereas many people are dependent on them. I sat with a group of younger nationals who were disturbed over a particular missionary. They wanted him withdrawn and replaced by another from America equally expert in his technical line but without his faults. I agreed that he might need to be withdrawn but when I tried to make it clear that it was exceedingly difficult to secure men for such service in his line, they could hardly grasp the argument. In their eyes the missionary had a most desirable situation; they supposed many were eager for it. Financially, socially, domestically—every way, they saw the missionary with a maximum of advantage and a minimum of sacrifice.

This lays on the missionary worker a serious responsibility. He knows that his whole program involves much sacrifice, though like Livingstone he may resent the word for himself. He can readily settle down into easy ways, making the most of advantages and the least of hardships. But in this way he obscures the very heart of his message. Some have tried to avoid it by unnecessary limitations, living on purely native

terms at wasteful cost to strength and influence. In interior points these limitations are sometimes very severe. Others have found that the sacrificial spirit is not a matter of houses or modes of travel but of genuine participation in the lives of men and women in need. As soon as it is felt to be a sacrifice, it is spoiled. One of the happiest workers I saw, almost gay in his work, was barefooted, robed in native costume, living among a kind of fraternity of nationals, helping in a hundred ways, but swift to ridicule the idea of its being hard or undesirable. What could be better for him—or worse for some other men? In the same country I found an honoured missionary, whose spirit was nowhere questioned, but who had always lived in a comfortable home, with pleasant surroundings, doing all the things that Westerners do in the East for the care of his family and himself; yet showing everywhere the utmost sacrificial spirit, always bearing his native friends on his heart as a pastor must do, and keeping the meaning of the cross of Christ before all observers by his own reproduction of its spirit in his own conduct. There are centres of mission work where a large peril is a comfort which may hide the sacrifice inherent in the Christian faith in a needy world. Such centres exist in America as well. This is God's world and ought to be enjoyed; if the enjoyment darkens the Light of the World it is too high a price to pay for it.

Christian brotherhood is born of this element of loving sacrifice. The most closely knit group of common people in the world is the newly forming Christian Church. They are helpers of each other. Their programs for mutual service are often a magnet which draws non-Christians to them. A Siamese official said to me that he hoped some day the Buddhist temples

would become nuclei for friendly groups as the Christian chapels were. This can probably come about only when the Christian idea of unselfish helpfulness replaces the idea of merit-making.

4. Christianity is a religion of hope. Philosophical pessimism often becomes practical depression in the East. Lord Ronaldshay has several chapters on the causes of pessimism in India, some physical and some intellectual, many directly connected with religious ideas. The fact of a living Holy Spirit of God working in the world for righteousness and peace takes away fear of defeat for the projects of the Christian movement. A Korean group told me their release from the fear of evil spirits was one of the largest gifts of the Christian faith. In China a similar release has come.

The Christian outlook on the future is a revelation of joy to multitudes of people. In the West much is made of the necessity for magnifying "this-world" aspects of religion. In the East the shadow of a difficult future darkens many minds. The dreary round of re-births and re-incarnations, the dependence of the future on details of conduct in the present, the possible distress of departed loved ones because of neglected ceremonies here—a multitude of anxieties and fears make living more of a burden than a joy. The Christian religion comes into this condition as a lifter of burdens. The future can be trusted to God's love; it will be what infinite love can do for men. The future life is no sad recompense for faults in this life, as this life is no payment for the ills of a previous existence. The gift of saving grace, the assurance of divine love, the joy of sacrificial service, come to their climax in the exultant hope which is offered in Christ.

It is hope for all kinds and degrees of men. The

Christian faith despairs of no caste or class. A missionary in Hankow wrote in March, 1926, of his support in finding certain notes in Professor T. R. Glover's *The Jesus of History:*

It is worth noticing that Jesus stands alone in refusing to despair of the greater part of mankind. Contempt was in His eyes the unpardonable sin. The lost soul matters to God. Human misery and need were widespread, but God's Fatherhood was of compass fully as wide and Jesus relied upon it.

These four elements in the Christian gospel—grace, love, sacrifice, hope—all gather around the central Figure, Jesus Christ. They involve no attack on other faiths, but rather sympathetic understanding of them and appreciation of any service they may render to their adherents. It must not be supposed, however, that these existing religions would sweep on their way without hindrance if only missionaries were out of the scene. Every one of them is badly undermined by modern learning, with whose maintenance the missionary enterprise has little to do. These religions and their adherents have been isolated from the main currents of modern thought. The Christian faith is the only religion which has come along the same road as the latest scientific and philosophical and historical learning. To many of its own adherents it has seemed to suffer from the newest theories and speculations, but what must be the effect of these same influences upon a faith that has not been abreast of them? Every non-Christian faith suffers radically from its contact with the science and history of the West.

The Hindu University at Benares has already been mentioned. I went through its well-equipped scientific

laboratories under the guidance of instructors largely trained in the West. When we found young men dissecting frogs and other animal bodies in biology I naturally asked how this comported with their religious attitude toward life and toward dead bodies. I learned that some students protested against contact with such objects and against taking life for the sake of analysis, but most accepted it as part of their work. "They will have to adjust their religious ideas to it, or they cannot become doctors or scientific men of any sort," the instructor said. Devout Hindus are troubled sometimes, with more cause than devout Christians could ever be, over the spread of modern science. How long may it take for their faith to be adjusted to the new ideas? It is not missionaries who are weakening the hold of the existing faiths; they might all be removed and the unsettling would go on. Many earnest missionaries deprecate the rapid abandonment of religious practices and ideas without the substitution of sounder ones. Christianity did not destroy the religions of Greece and Rome; they were in process of decay before Christianity touched them. The decay of existing religions in mission lands is caused by many other influences than the work of Christianity. Animism, fetichism, spiritism, are doomed when intellectual awakening comes. The intermingling of races makes other religions impossible. Need for religion is not lessened but increased as the new day develops. The Christian faith is offered to a needy world at a time when other faiths are failing. Its adherents are not destructive. They come to fulfill the hopes aroused and not satisfied, the needs felt and not supplied, the possibilities suggested and not realized. Their great necessity is to keep their offer worthy of the faith itself.

IX

UNCHANGING REALITIES IN THE MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE

IT would be difficult to exaggerate present changes which seem to involve the future of the world. "No age understands itself," but when any feature of an age's life is as manifest as the transitions of this age, it cannot be missed. The only exaggeration would be in supposing that the condition is unique and that the world heretofore has been undisturbed. The time has never been when the Christian religion had its own way or dealt with fixed and unchanging conditions. The changes now are only more marked, more pervasive, more fundamental than those of any recent period.

I

Institutions and movements in a changing order cannot remain unchanged nor pursue an undeviating way. It is fatal to attempt it. There is no living or working in the twentieth century on the unchanged terms of the nineteenth. This is especially true when a movement has for its purpose a direct service of the need of the age. Of course religious movements have this purpose; foremost among them must be the missionary enterprise. Its task is largely in lands where the marked upheavals are occurring. Indeed, certain features of the changes are traceable in part to the spread of missionary ideas. They have been part of a whole

current of new ideas flowing into old channels and cutting the banks here and there.

Even their physical effects are unmistakable. Going up the Yangtse my attention was called to villages along the way which the Christian faith had obviously entered, its buildings standing out conspicuously among the lowly dwellings. On the train in India one can pick out anywhere the influence of Western ideas, religious or political, by the edifices which imply their presence. No matter what effort is made to adapt them to local architecture, their size betrays them. The largest enclosed spaces in Korea are Christian Church buildings; there had never been occasion for so many people to gather jointly before the coming of Christianity. The throne hall of the King of Siam is a wholly national building, but its lines are strikingly those of an American state capitol building.

Political influence is widely observable. The deeper evidences are not so readily observed, but they are notable. A Chinese gentleman was asked some years ago when the Revolution began in China. He replied, "In 1807, when Robert Morrison landed in China." The answer has been much criticized and is only broadly true. It is true in so far as it implies that it is new ideas in old conditions that make the trouble. That is where all revolutions originate. But after a movement has begun, the method of advancing it must change with the advancing conditions. The most challenging fact before missionary leaders is the measure of success the movement has had. The only reason better national leadership is wanted is that the movement has grown out of reach of the earlier ones. The pioneer stage is past; so is the paternal stage. Each put itself out of business by doing its work.

The upheaved condition that now disturbs the missionary enterprise is not discouraging. Dr. David Z. T. Yui, chairman of the National Christian Council of China, asks these pertinent questions:

But why should we demand peaceful times and conditions under which we are to do our Christian work? Why do we seem to be fretful and despairing when such conditions are for the time being unobtainable? Should we mark time in our work and wait for better times? Do we think that Christianity as a religion has no contribution to offer to chaotic times and sinful life? Is our own Christian faith shaken?

Nothing is occurring in the world today which is not either the beginning of what the Christian movement wishes to see or the assertion of the very thing the Christian religion came into the world to meet. If it is evil, then that is Christianity's justification for existence. If it is the rise of a new life, then that is what Christianity hoped would occur when it entered these new lands. I asked a group of Chinese Christians if they thought Robert Morrison would be gratified to see China as it now is. One of the brethren spoke for the others in saying: "I think if he fully understood what is going on he would be gratified." Certainly a moving, disturbed condition is better for a nation than stagnation or satisfaction with unworthy conditions. The first item in the program of Dr. Sun Yat Sen was a process of arresting the attention of the masses of China, educating them in the principles of nationalism, an inevitable process of disturbance. In presence of things as they ought not to be quiescence has no merits. There is enough history to reassure any observer that the far outcome of these upheavals is good for humanity and for the Christian faith.

II

There are, however, fixed, unchanging elements in the missionary program even in the midst of the changing world. By these it is kept a living, constructive force. It is because the Christian faith is a fixed and permanent fact that an unsettled world can find hope in it. Its expression changes; its forms alter; its application varies with the age; but its underlying substance remains. And the missionary enterprise, which merely expresses the Christian faith in places where it has not yet gained secure footing, must partake of these unchanging elements in order to render its best service. In a multitude of details, principles of action, relationships, application, the enterprise must change. In its essential purpose, its ambition, its fundamental content, it remains as it has been.

1. The purpose and love of Christ are unchanged. The Gospel of the missionary enterprise was born of the love of God for men in need. It did not grow out of local conditions which must be reproduced for its application. It does not imply particular forms of sin or weakness or suffering. The purpose of Christ, expressing the love of God, was the beginning of the enterprise and nothing has happened to it as the enterprise has advanced. A missionary was advised by a ship captain on the African coast to remain on the ship and not risk himself to the natives. "They do not want you," he said. "No," was the reply, "maybe not; but I came because He wants me, and I still think He does."

This is the natural reply to the suggestion that missionaries ought not to go into any country until the people ask for them. They are not primarily invited guests; they are commissioned messengers. They do

not represent their own nations, and they do not intrude on the privacy of alien peoples. They are out on an errand of love from the God of the universe, going to His children with His message. Japanese Christians in Lima, Peru, have organized themselves into the "Society of the Friends of Jesus." They found Him a Friend, as He said He would be. That friendship is not disturbed by changing conditions or animosities. If God's love were cooled by the opposition of men, it would not have been expressed in Christ at all. Any purpose that can persist through the cross of Calvary is not affected by anything happening now in the world. Adoniram Judson in a time of question before going to Burmah, received a renewed sense of the command of Christ: "I could doubt no longer but determined on the spot to obey it at all hazards, for the sake of pleasing Jesus Christ."[1] That spirit dominates the enterprise.

2. The essential value of humanity is unchanged. Christian thinking lays such stress on the sin and ruin of mankind that it is sometimes overlooked that no other religion places so high a valuation on man. It is his worth that makes it natural to discuss the things that injure him. Who cares if worthless things are wrecked? The heaviest single protest against the Incarnation is that man is not important enough to call for this act of Almighty God. Some opponents of foreign missions sneer at it as wasted on people who cannot appreciate it. Tourists return with tales of the ignorance and besotment of people whom they saw, sure that missionary work among them does no good. One lady exclaimed after a meeting in which a certain

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[1] Walsh, *Modern Heroes of the Mission Field,* Ch. III.

national group had been praised: "I know those people; you couldn't change them in two hundred years—if you ever could!" On the other hand, Dr. D. J. Fleming tells that:

> One of the ablest missionaries now in India, looking back upon his experience of over forty-three years in that land, said he regretted, among other errors, one serious mistake he had made. He had not sufficiently estimated the potential capacity of the people. Therefore he had not expected as much from them as he should; and in consequence he felt that they had not been developed and done as much as they might have done.[2]

It is a widespread confession of missionaries that they find their own faith in men sometimes weakened because trusted men fail.

Many times in mission lands, I felt the force of the Christian accent on the value of personality, contrasted with the lower estimate of men in popular faiths. Partly this comes of the massing of people; multitudes of men can seldom be valued as highly as a smaller group. But it appears even in scattered populations, as in Africa. The Conference of British Missionary Societies in 1920 presented a memorandum to their government calling for the application to all national groups of the Christian conceptions of life:

> Fundamental among these is the conception of the supreme value of human personality and the worth of each individual in the sight of God. We cannot without the surrender of our deepest convictions reconcile ourselves to any policy in regard to the natives of Africa which contravenes this truth.

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[2] D. J. Fleming, *Whither Bound in Missions?* pp. 5, 6.

Dr. Henry T. Hodgkin, of Shanghai, discusses the rapid development of industry in Japan, and adds:

> During the year 1921 there were over five hundred strikes in Japan. The great industrial centres were full of unrest. I was told by the leader of the Labor Movement that it was the Christian idea of the value of personality, entirely new, he said, to Japan, which was causing this unrest.[3]

The largest unrest in India did not appear to a visitor to be political, serious as that is, but rather social—the awakening of downcast and outcaste people with a new impulse stirring in them. They are held in their depression partly by religious ideas, such as their sense of the rigorous justice of the universe which has brought them to their state by reason of wrong living in an earlier incarnation. Now a new set of ideas appears and they are doubting the old assurances. They are feeling a new sense of personal worth. Here and there individuals are emerging who are claiming both for themselves and their groups the rights and place of men for whom Christ died. Masses of such emerging people have turned blindly to the Christian faith whose teaching here stirs them. They do not understand it at other points, but that point many are able to grasp. It sounds the note of hope. Their ignorance constitutes a serious problem for the Christian movement and native leaders call for caution in loading it up with too many unintelligent, untrained adherents. But one of the missionaries writes: " We have put our hand to the plow with the sweepers and leather-worker groups and Christianity stands or falls in this section of the coun-

[3] See more fully in his *China in the Family of Nations.*

try in proportion to the Christlike lives lived by our baptized people."

We visited a country chapel in Siam where the bush crowds upon every settlement but where a well-kept chapel houses a bright group of Christian worshippers. Following the service was a picnic luncheon of all the believers, with something for onlookers. There came crowding into the circle a half-nude and half-clean woman with her nude children clinging to her, so utterly unlike the believing group that no one could have missed the contrast. One of the officers of the chapel came to us and explained gently that this woman was not a Christian and did not know any better than this. The sense of personal dignity which she lacked was exactly what marked the believers. That sense may be gained in many ways, but for the rank and file of the people of mission lands it must be gained by the path of religion, and by that path it is being gained. It is this increase of self-respect among the Chinese in the large that makes "unequal treaties" seem so obnoxious. No explanation of their history takes away their sting. Japanese protest against American immigration legislation is not in terms of legality; America can make its own laws, of course; but in terms of self-respect, of the courtesy due from one strong nation to another which it is assumed to respect.

And in the disturbances themselves this value of personality has proved itself over and over. Many personal records of experiences during recent trying months in China bear testimony to the valour and courtesy of Christian Chinese in terms that do them high honour.

I wish I could put into words what these Chinese

friends of ours of all classes did for us, first in warning us of the danger, then in pleading for us at the risk of their own lives, running hither and yon, negotiating with the officers, bringing us food—everything that could be done they did; and had it not been for all these people I am sure we would have been massacred. . . . I have learned more than ever before the power of love.

Those who have massacred and those who prevented it are of the same race; one group had learned the value of personality and the other had not. The entire missionary enterprise could be risked on instances easy to find where the Christian idea of the worth of personality has gained mastery and stands in sharp contrast to the neglect or depression of life around it. Nothing has happened to lessen the value of humanity; most of the upheavals of the day are connected with a new assertion of it. If the missionary enterprise is for the service of men, they are better worth it now than ever.

3. The fundamental need of humanity is unchanged. From the religious point of view this need is generally expressed in the one word "sin," but it can never be taken alone; it has many forms and its results appear in many ways. It has brought about a break of fellowship between man and God which is noticeable all around the world, and a break in fellowship between man and man which is quite as noticeable, and has utterly disturbed the inner life of men everywhere. It was to provide for this that the Christian religion began its work. Men in mission lands who accept that religion magnify its effects at all three points. Some of them welcome it because it shows them the way to peace with a holy God, some because it brings about a new fellowship with fellow believers such as they have

never known, some because it meets a want of their own souls. None of this need has ceased. Instead, it is greatly emphasized by the disturbed condition of the world.

The lines of human need are accented by conditions in India. Here are two great religions, Hinduism and Islam. The first is native to India, the second has been brought in from the nearer West. But each is the refuge of multitudes of souls who seek inner harmony and peace with God. Yet the two have met in fierce conflict at many points. When we reached India, Mr. Gandhi had just completed a twenty-one days' fast in penitence for a murderous riot between two groups of religionists in which a number of lives had been lost. Since that time numerous outbreaks of a similar sort have occurred. One of the latest was caused by a Moslem's murder of a leader of the Arya Somaj movement, which is affiliated loosely with Hinduism. There are some bad chapters in the history of the Christian religion when effort has been made to advance the faith by violence, but the religious state of India is as bad today as any of those chapters. The very efforts that are made to bring peace with God and in the heart are leading to strife with fellow-men. But to anyone who knows the God of Jesus Christ it is clear in any journey around the world that many of the efforts of men to do God's will are misdirected. It is incredible that He should desire the sacrifices offered Him in the Kali worship which I observed on the last Sunday in India, or the practices which can be noted in Chinese or Japanese places of worship. The peace which they can bring must always be limited by the sense of defect in executing the strenuous program.

The keen limitation of life from which humanity

needs redemption appears in the poverty, pain, hunger, unappeased sorrow and ignorance of the world, needing relief in every land of West and East, and finding its relief in a new spirit of personal value and a new sense of brotherhood for the oppressed which is born of the Christian faith when it is given its chance, a chance denied it too frequently in Christian lands. The evils of Christendom are quite as real as those of non-Christian lands, but they are in disfavour, not accepted as necessary or right, opposed at every point by the Christian faith and sure to be ended as it gains in power. Any daily paper in America will silence the arrogance of the man who offers Western civilization instead of the Gospel of Christ. The West has the same deep needs as the East for the same saving power of Christ. Its one advantage is that it recognizes and opposes the evils. It is true that men starve in America, but starvation is no phase of the economic condition. It is true that women are abused in America, but such abuse is not an accepted phase of the order of life. There are ignorant people in England or in any sending country, but ignorance is not taken for granted there. Sir Valentine Chirol in his book on *The Occident and the Orient,* puts his conclusion in a sentence: " If one seeks to define what the Orient chiefly lacks and has always lacked, it is the practice of freedom with the sense of responsibility, or, in a word, character." Acceptance of social and personal evils adds an element of danger to the mere presence of the evils. There is abundant physical misery in Africa for which the remedies available are only added miseries. One cannot travel through far more enlightened lands without finding similar situations. Spiritually, intellectually, physically, socially, it is a needy world and any

religion that knows the supply of the need has an obligation which the upheavals of the day merely increase.

4. The power of the Gospel of Christ is unchanged. It deals with human hearts as it has long been doing and those hearts respond still as they have long done. The sainthood which it seeks emerges in every land even in these disturbed days. When it is questioned whether a world-wide brotherhood can be formed, the answer is that it has been formed and is now operating. The operation is halting and defective and is not yet strong enough nor intelligent enough on either side of the sea to hold the hatreds and suspicions and animosities of the world in check, but if there is any hope for accomplishing this result it lies in this new brotherhood. For it now appears clearly that the Gospel of Christ has a corporate as well as a personal power. It changes men in any land and changes also unworthy conditions under which men live. The figures used by Christ for His followers involve environmental changes. Salt and light are never solitary and never indifferent to their surroundings.

The Bible, from which the Christian faith draws its body of truth, has not been fundamentally changed by the changes of the world. It has shared in the discussions; ideas concerning it have been altered in many points, but the thing it is set to do it continues to do. It bears its own witness when it passes into any new language. There is romantic appeal in the fact that more people gather around it on the special Christian day and hear it read and expounded in more languages, in more varieties of places and yet with more unity of result, than gather around any other single idea. And more are doing this at this time than ever before in human history. Dan Crawford uses a striking figure

in describing its vital influence: "Sterile as the soil may be, the seed is the Word of God; you may count the apples on the tree, but who can count the trees in the apple? You may tell the acorns in the oak, but not the oaks in the acorn."[4] The Word of God still proves quick and powerful and sharper than any two-edged sword.

The great central truths of the Christian faith have not been changed by the changes of the world. God is still the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is still true that Christ died for us that we should not henceforth live to ourselves. The Holy Spirit is still the living reality of God in the current of the world's life. The great issues are still the moral ones. Everything the first missionary started out to say needs still to be said, however new the language may be or whatever new applications and interferences may appear with the changing conditions. All the differences that run so deep between existing religions and the faith of Christ are still there, even in the midst of the glad discovery of values in those faiths which were hid at the first. It is a recent worker in China who reminds us that "the essential point lies here: Does a man's religion improve or hinder his personal character? Is his God on the side of his own best qualities? Does his faith, whatever it may be, spur him on in a continually ascending climb, toward perfection?"[5] And it is a modern sociologist who makes partial reply in these terms:

To the ranging eye, the fruits brought forth by the religions of China appear to be numberless temples,

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[4] *Thinking Black,* p. 480.
[5] O'Neill, *The Quest for God in China,* p. 115.

dingy and neglected; countless dusty idols, portraying hideous deities in violent attitudes expressive of the worst passions; an army of ignorant priests, as sceptical as Roman augurs, engaged in divining, exorcising and furnishing funeral ceremonies for gain; and a laity superstitious and irreverent, given to perfunctory kowtowing and prayer prompted by the most practical motives.[6]

By all agreement this is only one side of the picture (the penetrating eye sees more) but it is as real a side as any other, and it is the side which represents the working influence of the religions. There is no more defence for it than for the dark side of some Christian lands where superstition and ignorance are at a premium. So long as such things exist, the power of the Christian Gospel is needed, setting men free in mind and heart.

5. The Christian duty to proclaim the Gospel is unchanged. There were no conditions laid down when the duty was asserted. Fair warning was given that it would be accompanied at times with pain and distress. Believers were to be hated by men, to be cruelly dealt with, to be slain, but the command was given in full view of these contingencies (Mark 13:9-13). Now that they occur in parts of the world they ought not to bring dismay. Such things have always been a signal for fresh and more passionate obedience. They do indeed force upon the Church new examination of its methods to be sure that the cause of the unrest does not lie in mistakes of its own. Unnecessary martyrdom, suffering that is the outcome of Christian folly, mock heroism which comes from stubbornness and unintelligent programs, will never serve the true cause of

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 255, quoted from Professor E. A. Ross.

the Gospel. If we are wrong in our program, if we are provoking opposition on fictitious grounds, if we are presenting our Gospel offensively where it might be presented winsomely, specially if we are talking the Gospel and failing to live it, we must take no joy in the fact that we encounter trouble. There do come times when we may stand on our rights, like Paul at Philippi, but there are more times when we may allow ourselves to be scourged and mocked and wronged for the Gospel's sake, without complaint or protest. In all such things the Gospel becomes more than conqueror through Him whose love it proclaims.

It is this which saves the whole enterprise from being the impertinence which it seems to careless observers. They ask why Westerners should try to give " our religion " to people who already have a religion. Often the phrase is " force their religion upon " the other people, though most people are intelligent enough to know that there is not now and never has been any idea of " force " in the missionary enterprise. There has never been an ounce of necessity on anybody's part to accept the faith offered. It has been done freely if at all.

a. But the deeper fact is that the Christian religion is not " our " religion. Western people received it and have made it indigenous to their life; they did not originate it; they did not originate the idea of passing it on. They are themselves recipients. Christianity is a travelling faith; it is never healthy when it stops; its genius is to go farther. The race to which it was first given did not keep it, and it was not many decades before it passed entirely to other races. Christianity is no more " foreign " in China than it once was in America or England. It is no more " native " to Amer-

ica than it is to Japan. Christ remains "alien" to anyone who rejects Him; He is never "alien" to anyone who accepts Him.

b. Most of the lands of the earth have already changed their religious faiths at least once; it is not impertinent to suggest that they do it again if a better faith offers. Buddhism is the official faith of Siam but it originated in India and was definitely introduced into Siam. Islam is not native to India or Africa or Persia, yet each outnumbers the adherents of the faith in Arabia, where it took its start. Islam is an introduced faith in most lands of the earth and was once entirely "foreign" to those lands. Lord Ronaldshay heads a chapter, "The Incursion of Islam" in India.[1] If these religions can properly become naturalized in such lands, why should not Christianity in its turn become so? India is the one great land where the majority of the people hold a faith which originated within its borders, but even there Hinduism is steadily losing to Islam and Christianity. Shinto originated in Japan where it still exists, but as a religion it has been so largely replaced by Buddhism that it has been officially declared no religion at all but a patriotic cult! If Japan can accept Buddhism without disloyalty to its history, why not Christianity? Confucianism originated in China, but quite as many people practice the rites of Buddhism as those of Confucianism and many students consider it really no religion but a code of ethics.

c. The still deeper answer to the complaint of impertinence in the missionary enterprise is that this is not a program devised by Christians. They are under

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[1] Earl of Ronaldshay, *India: A Bird's-Eye View*, Ch. XVIII.

orders. When Saul of Tarsus persecuted the early Christians he found that he had shot his shaft over their shoulders or through their hearts straight at the heart of Christ. It was quite incidental what happened to them; the meeting of Saul on the Damascus road was not with them but with One who had sent them out on the errand from which he had tried to deter them. Nothing but the death of Christianity itself can now end the missionary enterprise, for whoever receives it will soon or late find himself shut up to its Head and Master and hear the same command that started the whole thing at first.

Nor does this command admit of compromise and accommodation which may bring Christianity into harmless fellowship with other faiths. In discussing the disappearance of the Christian faith preached very early by Nestorian missionaries in China, Lord William Cecil suggests that "apparently the mistake made by the Nestorian preachers was that of being ashamed of their faith and trying to recommend it as a branch of Buddhism."[8] At another place in this book (VIII) there is discussion of the relation which is to be maintained to other faiths, but absorption and compromise have always been fatal, whether that was the weakness of this lost chapter or not. There is no way whereby the command can be abrogated without abrogating the faith itself and being untrue to all the history that has brought it down to the present believers who now propagate it.

6. The ability of Christian believers under God has not changed. The Church is today vastly more ready to carry on the enterprise than the Church which opened the modern movement at the end of the eight-

[8] O'Neill, *The Quest for God in China*, p. 231.

eenth century. In intelligence, financial ability, personnel, devotion, all comparisons favour the present Church. The Church has as great public influence as then. There is such an understanding of the world as that day did not possess. The work is no longer left to consecrated cobblers who sit before a world map roughly drawn according to chance reports from explorers. It is no longer possible for a Presbyterian Moderator of Assembly to order an advocate of world missions to sit down because when God was ready to convert the heathen He would do it " without help from you or me." There is no lack of money; there are no overpowering burdens in local situations. There are young men and women ready to carry on the enterprise, sympathetic with the young men and women they will find in various national groups engaged in the Christian movement and welcoming help. Sometimes it is urged that existing churches should settle all their differences before offering the Gospel to other lands. But the missionary movement has never waited for that. It was not a peaceful, harmonious England that started Carey on his way to India. It was not a unified American church, united on all points of doctrine, that sent Judson to Burmah. Neither Germany nor France has waited for the end of discussion in order to begin the work of propagating the faith.

Nor does the existing Christian Church need to withhold all its forces and finance in order to carry on its own work. It is true that " there is enough to do at home," but there is no " home " for the Christian Gospel but the world. America is no more the home of the Christian Church than Japan or Africa. Indeed, Persia and Syria and Egypt are a good deal nearer the " home " of that faith than Western countries. What

is true of the Gospel itself is true of those who accept it. At once, without losing the narrower conception of "home," they gain a wider one and find that their new outlook makes the world their home. Need everywhere becomes home need. When the earthly family of our Lord once tried to project its limitations upon His life, He told His hearers of that wider family relationship which He held with all who would do the will of His Father. This did not involve any denial of the smaller and narrower family group, but it did involve breaking over its limitations.

The obligation of proclamation does not run back to any specific terms in the speech of Christ. Critical questions of the accuracy of this or that saying do not bear on the matter. If Christ had never uttered a word about "going into all the world" or "uttermost parts," the case would be quite as definite. The Christian faith in its very nature lays upon its adherents the duty of proclamation. If it is true, it needs to be universally known. If its ideas about God and man are right, then other ideas are defective or mistaken. If its offer of release from sin is valid, then it ought to be known wherever sin is. I met a high authority on the disease of leprosy in Calcutta, a Scotchman far from home. It did not occur to me to wonder what right he had to be there. If leprosy was there, of course he would be there. One need not wonder at seeing thousands of Christian people around the world on the errand of the Gospel of help and comfort. If need, sin, sorrow, selfishness are there, of course the Gospel will be there. Nobody needs to tell a right-minded man that he ought to help other men in need; he knows that by being right-minded.

This same spirit expresses itself naturally among new

believers. I preached one Sunday in a large and crowded church far up in Siam, at Chiengmai. The pastor, elders, congregation, choir, were all Siamese Christians. And one important part of the service was the presence of a group of eleven new Siamese missionaries who were starting out during the week for a mission field operated by that church in southern China. They would walk for forty-five days in order to reach the field, and they would receive, as missionaries do everywhere, only a modest living income. Mr. Crawford notes that "Africa's true evangelization begins when the simple Negroes start to talk about redeeming love among themselves." In Japan an eminent Christian leader spoke to me of the necessity for calling the church there anew to "its fundamental task of spreading the Gospel to the unreached sections of the land." Dr. Speer wrote a large book on *The Unfinished Task of Foreign Missions,* in which he lists great areas of the world where the proclamation has not occurred.

We have sung for years of the breezes that blow "soft o'er Ceylon's isle," but of the 12,000 villages in that beautiful island there are 8,000 in which, so far as is known, the name of Christ has not yet been spoken. When Heber wrote that "every prospect pleases and only man is vile," he did not mean that man is only vile; he was not denying the virtues that may inhere in humanity anywhere. He was noting merely the common fact, true around the world, that where God plants beauty man may still furnish the only vileness there is. One endorses that line in America or France as readily as in mission lands. Nothing is really wrong with the world anywhere but man. There is nothing vile in nature or in animals; "only man is vile." Thank God for the men who are not vile, in all lands and places,

Ceylon included. But so long as there are " vile " men, there is need for the cleansing Gospel of Christ and the duty to proclaim it remains.

7. The need of the Church for this expression of its life and love is unchanged. This need is deepened in a day when ease and comfort are so nearly universal that real missionary sacrifice is difficult to maintain. The Church in Christian lands needs direfully the missionary type of character, its self-forgetfulness, its wider vision, its carrying of burdens which would be none of its business if they were not part of the business of humanity. Mr. Kenneth Maclennan argues that the " real conflict " is a dreadfully familiar one:

> The issue is between the subordination of the material to the spiritual, and the capitulation of the spiritual to a selfish materialism. . . . In all the surging life of the world today these two forces, matter and spirit, are too often in open conflict; the one overwhelming, strident, assertive, making for disintegration, the other, almost always feeble, but ever making for unity and fellowship.[9]

That is not a mere missionary phenomenon; it is as marked in the environment of the Church in Christian lands. Nothing can decide the issue but precisely the missionary spirit. A veteran says that the Gospel is to many in Africa incredible and unintelligible, but the " blunt, black challenge to the missionary " is that he shall sit down there for twenty years and live it out and then it can be believed. But the missionary cannot do that in Africa or in South America or in Asia unless he is sustained in spirit by a home Church with the same spirit. Nothing can drive the home Church more di-

[9] Maclennan, *The Cost of a New World,* Ch. VII.

rectly into its business of correcting the evils with which it is surrounded than its effort to present its Gospel to other lands, only to have them challenge the offer by pointing to these same evils. If the Church is dull at home, it will be dumb in other lands. It needs its foreign missionary enterprise in order to do its duty at home.

The prosperity of Christian lands ought to be accepted as evidence of the favour and love of God; instead it becomes a hindrance to spiritual power. Growing rich, the Church forgets Him who gave it power to get wealth. It begins to think in terms of its own advantage and comfort. Into the midst of this drops down the missionary demand—service for men around the world. To save its own soul the home Church needs to seek the souls of all men. Calcutta is needed in Chicago, Bombay in Boston, Peking in Paris, Tokyo in Toronto, Liberia in London. They were never more needed than today, to counteract materialism, to vitalize doctrinal discussion, to justify home programs with their immeasurable cost in men and money. The fact that a group of men and women are far away from home on the errand of the Gospel and that men of other races are in fellowship with them for the furtherance of the Gospel will come redeemingly to the present Church.

8. The certainty of the coming Kingdom has not changed. The missionary enterprise is not a work of mere dogged courage, undertaken like a charge of the Light Brigade even though some one had blundered. There is no blunder about this program. It is all part of an assured movement toward the victory of God's will. It is "an enterprise of hope and duty." Sometimes duty becomes the uppermost fact and workers

keep going whether anything encouraging happens or not. Sometimes hope grows so bright that all the grimness of duty is lost. Generally, for intelligent believers, the two combine. The duty becomes joyous and the hope an impulse to duty. On the title page of a well known missionary volume[10] are these lines:

" There's a legion that never was listed,
That carries no colours nor crest,
But split in a thousand detachments
Is breaking the ground for the rest."

At the Shanghai Christian Conference of 1922 a " Message of the Church " was presented by a Chinese Christian committee, in which occur these memorable words:

If we are to accomplish the creation of a new society, we must pass through many tribulations; but we believe that at the close of the day love will conquer evil, light will conquer darkness, and the heavenly Kingdom of Christ will universally prevail.

Nowhere has that Kingdom come into such clear sight that careless observers are forced to accredit it. But nowhere is it so distant that hopeful eyes cannot observe its signs. The problems of mission work lie today chiefly in its victories, to which it has not become fully adjusted. The constant peril is that we will keep our methods adapted to a period that has passed and will not overtake the new period that has come.

a. In Syria I talked with a worker who has spent his life among Moslems. I asked him if he did not often feel that he was working against a stone wall. He replied: " Yes, much of the time; but sometimes one can

[10] Dan Crawford, *Thinking Black.*

feel it give." One needs only talk with veterans to discover how enormous are the changes which one life can see. They point out commonplace facts which would have been incredible when they came into contact with the scene. The uplifting of the heads of women, the spread of education, the care of little children, the arousing of whole groups of the depressed, the emergence of a solid brotherhood among all races, the keen insight into the Gospel—all these are indications. But our assurance does not rest on these alone.

b. Collateral movements show how the way of the Kingdom is being prepared. A tourist recently spoke to me of his visit to India, one of those flying visits that gains so much and leaves so much to be desired. He had been to Benares, the passionate centre of Hinduism. He spoke of his distress over the burning and bathing ghats, over the temples, the holy men in their physical disregard, the lewdness in terms of religion. I asked him whether he had visited also the beautiful new Hindu University on another stretch of the river at Benares. He had not known of it. I told him he had seen the burden of India but not its hope. For in that surprising educational development are gathered hundreds of students under Hindu auspices but studying according to Western methods and with Western laboratories which involve contradiction of much that many Hindus hold dear, sure to be forced to put their Hinduism to the test and sure to modify or desert it in the interest of a fuller and fairer faith that will harmonize with the new truths.

The last Sunday we were in India we had three experiences, deliberately planned. We went to the temple of Kali, the goddess for whom Calcutta is named, and saw the remains of animal sacrifices, the

holy men of unspeakable appearance, the dust of whose feet was gathered up by some devotees and put reverently into their mouths, and other scenes of human life that could not be worthy of any true faith. Also, I preached in the beautiful Duff Church to a congregation largely made up of fine, intelligent Indian families whose superiors would not be found in any church in any land. Then, I attended a meeting of the Christian Student Federation of Calcutta University, an institution with 17,000 students in various schools, in all of which are small but distinctive Christian groups who keep each other's spirits up as Christians everywhere do. On these three experiences of one day the missionary cause could be rested—its necessity, its achievement, its promise.

c. But even these scenes multiplied over and over are not the foundation for our assurance. That foundation was unwittingly revealed in an experience in the city of Kolhapur, India, where I was lecturing. The chairman of one of the gatherings was the gracious president of the Arya Somaj College, who took the chair, as is the custom in India, not to indicate his approval of what might be said but to show courtesy to a visitor. In the course of the lecture I commended the Christian faith to the consideration of thoughtful men, quite incidentally, on the ground that it had now become the religious faith of more people than any other faith in the world, and that no other faith had ever had so many adherents. I did not mean to imply that this showed it to be true; it merely forbade its seeming negligible. In the fine fashion of India, the chairman summed up with his own comments the points of the lecture. He explained that this point did not appeal to him because truth could not be judged by numbers and

because there must have been a time when this was not true of Christianity, and there must then have been men who believed in it and propagated it on some ground so inherent in itself that no one could discourage them from its acceptance. I gladly agreed with so vital a comment. It is exactly this inherent quality which makes Christian believers sure of the Kingdom. Christ is unconquerable in the sight of any man who has watched Him in His progress through the ages. The faith that bears His name is fundamentally right and carries with it the future of the world. If the appearances were against it, as they are not; if the enemies were increasingly successful, as they are not; if the forces that advance it were failing, as they are not—still the assurance would be valid; the coming Kingdom is certain. Its certainty is unchanged.

It is in this spirit that we survey the changing enterprise. The world is in motion and the enterprise is moving with it. We are never to suppose that at its heart and centre the effort itself is altered. This review of some of its unchanging elements is meant to safeguard all the rest of our thinking.

X

SOME WORLD CONTRIBUTIONS OF MISSIONS

THE missionary enterprise has unquestioning world aspirations. Its validity is bound up with the validity of the Christian religion itself. Whatever the Christian faith has for the world, the missionary enterprise is meant at least to start in operation. The great Christian ideas about God and man and their relations to each other, which are the staples of religion, are needed everywhere. If Christ was a real contribution to humanity, any enterprise which extends knowledge of His person and program has a contribution to make.

On the mission field, as at home, there prevail two extreme schools of Christian advocates: the rescue group, who think of the Christian Gospel as a way of saving men out of a lost world, and the reconstruction group, who think of the Gospel as providing conditions under which life may be worthily lived. Between these extremes are many others, trying to include both ideas in varying degrees. Extremists are always assertive and are apt to refuse all modifications; readily they become bitter against any who differ from them. This occurs in home lands; it is most noticeable and troublesome in mission lands.

Another group, the growing one in the missionary enterprise, is made up of those to whom is uppermost the idea of sharing with others the best we have. Many of them do not think primarily of the non-Christian

world as "lost," in the familiar sense of the word, though many stand in awe of that assurance. The eternal aspects of the matter are less in mind. Griffith John insisted that missionary duty does not turn on that issue.[1] He works out at length the various possibilities and shows how each ought to create missionary zeal. Many observers feel that Christian work has been weakened both at home and abroad by the fading of any urgent sense of the eternal loss of unbelieving souls. Dr. Orchard reminds us, however, that there can be no dogmatic word about individuals; the one assured thing is that without Christ we are taught no way of setting men right with God.[2] We have that way in our knowledge and it seems the barest decency to make it known to others who need it as much as we need it. The world is miserably lost now, whatever is eternally true of individuals in it.

The missionary enterprise moves steadily toward human reciprocity—a human give-and-take in which each shares his best with others. Everybody looks for the day when there will be no "sending country" nor "mission land," when all lands will receive equally from all other lands. At this present time American Christians are deeply grateful for the spiritual aid that has been brought them by the Sadhu Sundar Singh, Dr. K. T. Paul, Dr. Chatterjee and others from India, by Mr. Kanamori, Dr. Tagawa, Dr. Ebina and others from Japan, by Mr. T. Z. Koo, Dr. David Yui, Dr. Timothy Lew, and many more from China. Men from Persia, Africa, the South Seas, have come helpfully. Christian believers anywhere sit gladly at the feet of such brethren. They see our common Lord with uncommon

[1] See the biography by R. Wardlaw Thompson, pp. 380-383.
[2] Orchard, *Foundations of Faith—Eschatological,* Ch. VIII.

clearness and interpret Him with rich fullness. When the question of race equality arises, intelligent American Christians find themselves wishing that they themselves might be the equals of such men from other races. Reciprocal Christian leadership will increase rapidly with the growth of Christian groups everywhere. When they become universal, men will speak only of the contribution of the Christian faith to the world. The more limited " missionary enterprise " will have done its work.

As things now are, no offence should lie in using " mission lands " and " sending countries," for that is what they are. There is a sensitiveness which is difficult to take seriously, which objects to " native " because some people use it with bad connotation and to " non-Christian nations " on the ground that there are no really " Christian lands." But such terms carry no contempt nor arrogance except in theory. Where people are over-sensitive, the terms may wisely be avoided, but language is always at the mercy of those who misuse it. Any word can be spoiled if the wrong people are allowed to have their way. The terms are used here in full assurance that the facts which they imply will soon be surpassed. The Christian faith actually has larger strength in some lands than in others; this chapter is to point out some of the contributions which are made by the ministry of these lands throughout the world.

Something about " Christian lands " is obviously attractive to many from " non-Christian lands," as is evidenced by the large body of students and new citizens which come to them. Ten thousand students from the Far East are now in the West, drawn by their hope to benefit themselves and the lands which they love

and to which they mean to return. They are here under heavy economic and social burdens. Many are in a deeply critical mood, voicing their condemnation of " Christian lands " without stint. Yet something holds them and they continue in those lands, not for the service they can render to them, but for the sake of something they find there. Intelligent Americans hear their criticisms with gratitude, for their eyes may readily detect evils to which familiar eyes have grown unhappily accustomed. Yet it is notable that their adverse judgments are almost entirely postulated on the Christian theory of life and human relationships. They use Christ's standard, not those of other religious leaders.[8] They do not find in the West that attitude toward God and man which they had supposed " Christian " nations would take. Their criticisms remind us that Christianity has much yet to give to the people who have had it longest. But they ought not to suggest that it has not also much to give to those who have recently received it. There is no land where there are not evils to correct, wrongs to right, limitations to remove. If there ever were intelligent Americans who pretended that nothing of this kind existed in their own land they must now be dead, but it is doubtful if they ever existed. It is no sin to prefer one's own land, but in praising it one may give to the unintelligent the impression of supposing it has no faults.

When a Y. M. C. A. leader in America warned against undue severity in criticism because of its unpleasant reaction on relations between China and America, Mr. Y. T. Wu, a Chinese student, replied:

The simple truth is that the Americans need more of

[8] Jones, *Christ of the Indian Road,* Ch. VI.

these severe criticisms, specially from a people whom they have learned to look down upon, in order to be aroused from that sense of satisfaction, self-sufficiency and complacency. The real greatness of America will come when she is humble and broad-minded enough to confess her mistakes and try to learn even at the cost of an injured pride from a foreign people. On the other hand, the Chinese need to be reminded more and more of China's past heritage and her future possibilities, even if they have to brag of themselves at the expense of true humility. They have been too patient, too humble, and too yielding, and they should have more confidence and more pride in themselves.

This naïve expression reminds us how prevalent is national self-importance. It is always easier to see the faults in other nations than in one's own land.

Christians believe, however, that the cure of evils lies in the faith which they have learned from Christ. They believe it for the lands that know it best as truly as for all other lands. The missionary enterprise carries it to lands that do not yet know it, but this is by no means the whole Christian movement and it nowhere implies that " sending countries " are examples of what the Christian faith does when it is given full opportunity.

I

The missionary enterprise has several large contributions to make to the " sending countries," the home lands of the messengers.

1. It brings a constant reassurance of the Christian faith. It is postulated on the finality and practicability of that faith for all men. The need for keeping this assurance alive is evidenced just now by the panic into which some believers are thrown by adverse news of the Christian enterprise in various places. Letters and

articles frequently declare that "the missionary enterprise is doomed unless—," or "the whole Christian cause is at stake unless—," or, "Christianity will fail (in China, Japan, Africa) unless—." There is apt to follow some commonplace Christian idea which the writer ought to know will be reproduced in lives of believers, or else some pet notion arising out of peculiar conditions which impress the writer strongly.

But who started this enterprise anyway? Paul did not conceive that his commission came from anywhere short of God. And messengers of the Gospel can no more be kept now from going on with the message than the sun can be kept from shining. It is a great thing to have a commission from a Board of Foreign Missions and a salary from a supporting constituency, but no missionary is on safe ground until he has a good deal more than that. Christianity is not going to fail; the enterprise is not doomed—nobody really thinks so who is sure of his Gospel and its source. Opposition at home or abroad, among Christians or non-Christians, among foreigners or nationals, will merely make its way harder; it will not end it. In the complications of home life it is well to have something that reasserts that fact.

Dr. H. R. Mackintosh, of Edinburgh, brings his strong study of *The Originality of the Christian Message* to a climax in a statement of the way in which its finality and absoluteness can be clearly assured.

Obedience, after all, is the organ of spiritual knowledge; and in the present context this signifies that it is only through the perpetual conflict of mission enterprises that the Church can keep its great assurance that Christianity is ultimate. Were it to despair of the missionary cause, it would instantly lose that life-giving

insight. We can appeal to the best missionaries at this point. They are agreed in testifying that belief in the finality of the Christian gospel is the one practical basis of their special work. Evangelization becomes reasonable and effective only through the faith that the message of Jesus supersedes the past by fulfilling its hopes and completing its best achievements. Evidence comes in from all the fields to prove the vital necessity for missionary work of the truth of the absoluteness of the Christian revelation. . . . Nothing so confirms a man's antecedent belief in the finality of the Christian faith as the great venture of going out with it in his hand into dark continents to face there the best which other religions have accomplished. Christianity is, in short, absolute if it dares to be so. . . . The great certainty that Christ is final belongs not to the sensible men but to martyrs—to all who are willing to spend and be spent in a cause greater than life itself (p. 190).

The enterprise does not rest on human purposes; instead, they rest on the same foundation as that of the enterprise—the love and the purpose of God. As the faith works anywhere, under all flags, in the midst of all cultures, its finality becomes reassured. The assistant editor of *The Nation,* already quoted, tells that he sat for two hours with a veteran Christian missionary trying to find some virtue in the Christian teaching which the missionary could not match by a parallel in the Chinese classics. Either the inquiry was very selective or the discussion was partly imaginative, for the distinctive features of the Christian faith come as new to Confucian believers. Wide experience justifies the word of Professor Mackintosh:

The new religion is in no sense a reproduction or revised version of older faiths. Pre-existing ideas, when they reappear, enter into new combinations and gather

new significances, while the great fact of Jesus Christ imparts originality and distinctiveness to the whole (p. 161).

Contact with existing faiths helps to confirm the Christian thought of the fundamental importance of religion wherever it appears and of the distinctive contribution made by Christ to the religious needs of humanity.

2. The missionary enterprise serves also as the fullest and richest expression of the Christian faith. It is the best test of the obedience of believers. Selfish or self-seeking arguments fail immediately in missions. In the last pinch the enterprise moves on assurance of the truth of the faith and the will of its Founder. Without it, believers have to live as though part of their faith were not true. God is Father and Friend of all men, to be known and loved by them all; without the missionary enterprise that fact is not to be communicated to all men. Christ is the Saviour for the race and for universal sin; humanity is a brotherhood bound to share the best with each other. These are Christian commonplaces; missions is the final say of saying so.

One cannot fully believe in God, as Christ makes Him known, without believing in what the missionary movement both at home and abroad is struggling to achieve.[4]

The Christian faith places the spiritual above the material, and yet in Christendom the two are so closely related and operate in such inseparable union that their right relation is easily forgotten. In the missionary enterprise the spiritual claims are so frankly uppermost and so fully dominant that only the ignorant can mistake them. The needs which it seeks to supply are the

[4] S. M. Cavert, *The Adventure of the Church*, p. 11.

distinctively human ones; other needs come in quite incidentally. When the sense of distinctive human, spiritual, eternal, realities is lost, missionary zeal is lost also. Human bodies are well worth serving anywhere; purely temporal needs are well worth supplying anywhere. But the thing that carries the missionary enterprise forward is a sense of the spiritual, an assurance of the souls of men. And yet, Christianity constantly dignifies temporal realities. The earth is the Lord's, and not a place of gross evil, to be avoided and escaped. Life is a beautiful, desirable fact, not the seat of evil and the ground of pessimism. The body is not accursed, but as the temple of the Holy Spirit is holy. There is no warfare between the soul and the body. The material is to be sanctified as fully as the spiritual—only, in a well-ordered system the spiritual is dominant. When the Christian faith is presented around the world, it meets very different ideas and is led to assert its fundamental assurances at this point. In no other way can it express its fundamental truths so clearly and unmistakably as in its missionary enterprise.

3. This enterprise also keeps the faith broad-visioned and alive to the unity and equality of humanity. It is fatal to a religion like Christianity to have a horizon short of the world scene. When one is discussing a faith which belongs as truly everywhere as anywhere, there is no logic in the idea that everything must be done in one place before anything is attempted in another. Christianity does not build on its achievements; it builds anew in each instance on the obvious needs of men and the essential truth which it brings. Foreign missions reminds believers that they have no monopoly on the faith and their faults are no excuse

for keeping the remedy to themselves. One writer tells that people in the Far East protest that Christians come to them with the Bible in one hand and guns in the other, and they want neither their guns nor their Bible. It is a childish expression. Intelligent men know that the same men do not come from Christendom with guns and Bibles. It is like telling a minister of the Gospel from New York that he is not wanted in Chicago because a hold-up man from New York is also in town. Still, I recall protests over the coming of a minister from Liverpool to New York and his supercilious attitude toward evils in America, which led observers to remark that he had no ground for superciliousness at least, since he had left conditions that were bad enough. That spirit is a constant danger of missionaries, unconscious as it often is. But the answer to it is the constant aggression against these evils in the lands from which missionaries come.

Mr. Tagore once read a clipping from a New York paper telling of a horrible outrage on a human being and asked a visitor from America whether he thought America had much to offer India. The reply should have been easy. America has the thing that will stop that evil in America and everywhere else, and it has many earnest people at work in the effort to correct it in New York. There are no unprotested evils where Christ has His way in the hearts of men. Missionaries come to India to join in the protest of the best and truest of India's sons against any evils that flaunt themselves there. Mr. Tagore hates such evils: so do Christian believers. If they can have his help in ending them, they want it; if they can give India help in ending them, they are eager to do so. The human race is one even in its sin; the same outrages break out

everywhere. It can be made one in its opposition to sin and in its mastery of it.

Nothing keeps the world sense alive so naturally as the missionary movement. The average American seldom thinks of the rest of the world except in terms of some calamity or international complication. What do the South Sea Islands, Siam, Burmah, the Cameroons, Thibet, Afghanistan, Kurdistan, mean to the rank and file of Christians in America? Either nothing at all or mission fields. If anything widens the horizon and brings the world into consciousness, and specially into friendly consciousness, it is the missionary enterprise. One needs only to listen to the average non-Christian comment on the rest of the world, specially the distinctively missionary lands, to realize that little in non-Christian thinking makes for world unity and appreciation. The tales of ordinary tourists are travesties on observation; the contemptuous or indifferent comment on news from abroad is ominous for the future of international relations; the only phrases which the man of the street has for people of other lands are unworthy of them. We swing between extravagant praise and contemptuous dismissal of other peoples. Except for the faint beginnings of exchange of literature and art, we have almost nothing that brings other nations into appreciative thought except this growing Christian fellowship by which sensible people are reminded of world unity.

And just because the enterprise can do so much for racial equality, it is of first importance that it be operated on that basis. It is a danger of the movement that it so easily breeds racial divergence. Equality has nothing to do with racial connection; that is a matter of persons. There are no such beings, for purposes of

judgment, as "the Chinese" or "the Americans" or "the Africans." Each group is a collection of persons, separate, socially related, with some common traits, but out of each may emerge at any time men who have more in common with men of other social groups than with the rank and file of their own group. This is specially true in spiritual matters. Christian Chinese and Christian Americans have more in common than many Chinese have with each other or than many Americans with each other. Dr. Fleming's word is indisputable:

If we were wishing to select one hundred people who are to be quite superior to any other one hundred, one of the most foolish ways would be to choose them by race.[5]

It is difficult to avoid racial superiority in the world as it is now organized. An American observer points out that

We have sometimes unconsciously developed a spirit of condescension, even of contempt toward other peoples. The true Christian attitude is one of grateful appreciation for the admirable qualities in other peoples, of deep regard for their capacities; this is the spirit of most modern missionaries.[6]

An observer in a foreign land adds the comment:

Missionaries from the West seem to have an almost insuperable difficulty in adapting their manners and moulding their temperament into the forms which most commend themselves to good and high-minded Chinese (or other Eastern peoples). The prominence of the gentler virtues in our Lord's teaching has received scant attention in the West, and even in our missions

[5] Fleming, *Whither Bound in Missions?* p. 17.
[6] Cavert, *The Adventure of the Church,* p. 218.

in China is too often neglected, to the vast loss of all concerned.[7]

Instances of this neglect came to my own notice—not frequently, but often enough to show how easy it is to overlook the more delicate phases of racial feelings. We of the West are a blustering, assertive people, to whom certain reserves and courtesies are idle, useless, a waste of time. We constitute, quite too much, our own standards of what people ought to be and how they ought to act. So we sometimes bungle our finest endeavours. I carry with me one humiliating memory of an inexcusable blunder in courtesy on my own part which was due to stupid indifference to a quite obvious practice of the people around me. It helps me to realize the seriousness of acting as though we knew it all and others should learn everything from us. The attitude of humble courtesy is very difficult for a Westerner.

The unity of the race has to be struck at deep levels or it cannot be observed. At present the language barrier is serious. At a recent meeting the India Literature Fund had applications for grants of literature in the Mundari, Santali, Khasi, Sindhi, and Malayalam areas, and proposals for publications in Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, Marathi, Gujarati, Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, Sinhalese, Burmese and English, for use in India, and anyone familiar with India will know that the list is not complete by a great deal. Delegates from Canton in a Shanghai conference said that they had felt somewhat " out " of the conference because they could not understand the Chinese dialects used. Many of them had followed the English more easily than the Chinese

[7] *Report of National Christian Conference.*

speakers. When I was lecturing in Canton in English I was of course interpreted, but a Chinese gentleman from Shanghai lectured in the next block in his language and he too was interpreted into Cantonese for the audience of common hearers. Some observers have pinned their hopes to linguistic unities, some to governmental alliances. The Christian faith frankly seeks the unity of the race at deeper levels—in spiritual things. There can be a group of unifying ideas, good in any tongue, applying to every life.

In presence of the missionary purpose all race-prejudice is seen to be unChristian. An anti-Christian movement in the West is far more threatening to Christianity than that of China or the Far East, for the Western movement is one of race-prejudice, of contempt for other peoples. Nothing more swiftly denies the Christian faith than this. Race-hatreds are not certainly unBuddhist nor unShintoist nor unHindu nor unMoslem. But they are undeniably unChristian. Racial differences run down *into,* but they never cut *through,* our common humanity. The missionary enterprise forces that fact out into prominence where it belongs.

4. Further, it challenges to Christian unity at home. Much of our talk about the value of church groupings in the West falls flat in presence of actual working conditions on the mission field. The puzzlement and anxiety of national Christians in many lands ought to give us pause. One does not enjoy such words as these in the Message from the National Christian Conference of Shanghai (1922):

We find that now this desire of our hearts (for a united Chinese Church)—as always the work of our hands—is hindered by the tragedy of division among

the Christians of the world. . . . Surely the salvation of the human race calls for nothing less than a world program and is a task which in itself points to the danger and sin of longer perpetuating the spirit of division among the children of a common Lord. We ask, therefore, that our brethren of every land shall strive for that perfect unity for which Christ prayed when He said, "That they may be one as thou, Father, art in me and I in thee, that they also may be one in us, that the world may believe that thou didst send me." A vital word is added when it is said that

Chinese Christians are as prone to disunion as are the missionaries—perhaps more so—and rightfully look to the missionaries for help in this, as in other things, during the time of their comparative youth and inexperience in the Christian Church.

In the light of such expressions, the willingness of some missionaries either to continue or to increase the spirit of disunion in such a land as China gains tragic significance. It is in itself a denial of the fullest meaning of the missionary enterprise. It was a Chinese Christian who coined the fine phrase that Christians are "agreed to differ but resolved to love."[8] Surely, if it is not true, it should be made true without delay.

II

The contribution of the missionary enterprise to "mission lands" falls also into several forms.

1. It has brought about a new evaluation of existing religions. Its new ideas are forcing study of religious authorities to see if they do really require or even permit the things that are done in their name. Mr. Gandhi insists that the child-widow system of India and even the whole rigid caste system, with its creation

[8] *Report of National Christian Conference*, p. ii.

of a great body of "untouchables," are no necessary part of Hinduism and are not sustained by authoritative Hindu books. For centuries, until the new light broke, these things were taken for granted, and even yet they are strenuously defended by some adherents. It is now the custom to trace them back to some valuable and helpful ideas, as by Mr. Tagore in the Keyserling Book of Marriage, where some Hindu customs, specially child marriage, are profoundly discussed in terms that would be as strange to most Hindus as they are to Western ears. The argument is that the custom first exists and religious sanction is then found for it. Sir Surendranath Bannerjea says:

> You cannot think of a social question affecting the Hindu community that is not bound up with religious considerations; and when divine sanction in whatever form is invoked in aid of a social institution it sits enthroned in the popular heart with added firmness and fixity, having its roots in sentiment rather than in reason.[9]

As time goes on, old customs need to be reconsidered. Are they really demanded by the religion one believes? Nothing has led to more severe study of the foundations of existing religions than the appearance of the Christian faith as a proposed substitute or supplement. Not only have Christian scholars made long and patient studies of their religions but their own adherents have been driven back to their sources with new earnestness.

After a lecture in India a group gathered around me to ask questions. A gentleman asked if I could read Sanscrit. When I said I could not, he declared in that case I could not know Hinduism. I explained that I

[9] *A Nation in Making*, p. 396; quoted in Katherine Mayo, *Mother India*, p. 155.

had tried in the various ways open to me to learn Hinduism, but I added that if his contention was correct and one must understand Sanscrit in order to know Hinduism, then Hinduism could never be the world religion nor come to men in the hour of their greatest need, for it is incredible that all men will ever learn Sanscrit or any other one tongue in the crises of their lives. I explained, on the other hand, that the Christian faith had been cut loose from all required language and that it gladly offered itself to men anywhere in any tongue. I asked him if he had ever read the Christian Bible in its original. He said he had done so, but I found he thought English was that original. The discussion seemed one of the most profitable of the series in revealing the necessity for clear insight into one's own faith. His fellows took their friend to task for suggesting this limitation on their faith and the discussion soon became one among themselves to which I listened with keen interest. I learned that only a few of themselves pretended to know Sanscrit authoritatively.

The head of The Ecclesiastical Department in Siam expressed his desire that the priests of Buddhism should follow practices similar to those of Christian missionaries in instructing the young and teaching the rudiments of the faith. He told me that this would be only a return to original Buddhist practices, long since forgotten in the isolation the religion has experienced.

This evaluation of existing faiths does not reveal their finality, but often their defective equipment for the need of the world. The Christian faith brings to their adherents in multitudes of cases the assurance of hopes otherwise aroused. God has nowhere left Himself without witness in nature (Acts 14:17), in con-

science (Rom. 2:14-16), and in the outreachings of men (Acts 17:27). Certainly He bears much witness in these great existing faiths. But whatever God has done in these faiths, men have been brought only to hope, not to assurance. They have produced a certain wistfulness which even a visitor can observe, to which longer residence testifies forcefully. Christ comes to make all the best that men have hoped in the old faiths a glorious certainty. Such a Father as Jesus revealed could not be indifferent to the needs and desires of sincere men.

Every excellence in another religion is the signal of, and a challenge to discover, a deeper worth in Christianity. It is significant that so many high-minded votaries of non-Christian faiths eventually become dissatisfied, because increasingly conscious of needs still craving an adequate object, as well as of spiritual powers still unexercised; but no man has yet been found to complain that he has exhausted the interest of Jesus or measured His redemptive powers.[10]

In either case, whether new virtues are discovered, corrections of unworthy practices made, or limitations fulfilled in Christianity, the missionary enterprise has been a boon to non-Christian faiths. Comparative religion was born in Christendom, and much is known of the values of non-Christian faiths there.

2. Much has been said here and elsewhere regarding the social benefits contributed by the missionary enterprise. Mr. Shiba, editor of *The Japan Times and Mail,* himself a non-Christian, wrote:

It is the Christian workers and the Christian civilization that have lifted Japan above the darkness of old ideas and backward customs and put her in the

[10] Mackintosh, *Originality of the Christian Message,* p. 189.

path of higher culture. If Christianity as a religion be making but slow progress in Japan, Christian ideas may be said to have already conquered the country. For this Christian conquest, of which we are not ashamed, we must admit that we owe it to the Christian workers—foreign and Japanese.[11]

Similar testimony is borne from India and other lands. It is to be noted that the small Christian Church in China, only a few hundred thousand among the millions of the land, is confessing its sin in not correcting the social evils of the country, in not yet having permeated society with its truths and redemptive power. Adherents of no other religion are making any such confession. The woes and wretchedness of multitudes in India—whose failure is this? Who is to blame for the backwardness of the kindly Siamese? Whose is the shame of Turkey and the illiteracy of Persia? Who bemoans his wrong in Africa for its ignorance and darkness? Is any religion calling its adherents to confession of failure in the world but the Christian faith? The condition of Latin America at many points is a constant humiliation to Christian believers. Their faith has had its chance in those lands and has made miserable failure in the form in which it has attacked the problem. It has become impossible for other adherents of the faith to refrain from activity for the sheer shame of human conditions which still prevail there. As in China, so everywhere, the larger or smaller Christian groups carry the burden of the world on their hearts, its social evils as a charge on their consciences, its evils as their own condemnation.

The detailed social service has been outlined by writers such as Dr. James S. Dennis, in his three sump-

[11] *Chinese Recorder*, April, 1927, p. 286.

tuous volumes on *Missions and Social Service,* by President Faunce in his *Social Aspects of Foreign Missions,* and in a wider way by the earlier Dr. Storrs, in his Lowell Lectures. Any observer can note the service and nationals gladly recognize it.

3. The missionary enterprise helps to give a new outlook on life, the outlook native to the Christian faith. *a.* Its stress on the worth of personality cannot be too often mentioned. Weakness in this estimate underlies the ideas of marriage and human relationships that obstruct human progress. No theory could be farther from the actual facts of marriage as practiced in India than Mr. Tagore's theory just mentioned. Polygamy breaks on the rock of personal worth. No one man can supply the proper complement to the lives of several women except on the theory that the women have less value than the man. Miscellaneous marriage and divorce in Western lands are a shame and scandal to the Christian faith for the same reason. They involve disregard of human values, using other human beings at something below their true worth.

One is strongly impressed with this lowered estimate of human worth in the use of man power in the Far East. Much of the hardest labour is performed by human beings where animals or machinery might naturally be used. That this is no mere Western idea is suggested by a paragraph from the Peking *Week in China* for June 18, 1927:

Speaking at the University Club in Shanghai, on June 8, Dr. Hu Shih, who has recently returned from an eight-months' trip to Britain and the United States, declared it was essential for China to study the culture of the West, and that the practical spiritual qualities of Western civilization were more valuable than the im-

practical spiritualism of China. He contrasted the civilization of the automobile and that of the ricksha, with the latter's degrading use of man-power.

The work of the world must be done, and much of it is grinding toil. The measure of civilization is found in part in its attitude toward such toil and its protection of rational beings from any of it which can be done in other ways without endangering their personality. No man can do an animal's or a machine's work without partaking in some degree of the animal or the machine.

The outlook on the future is changed by that estimate also. Two keen-minded men in India talked with me for hours regarding the validity of their Hindu idea of the absorption of the individual in the Whole. Their illustration is used in many books. They spoke of a man as being like a lump of sugar or a block of salt, complete in itself for the time, but some day to be cast into the sea, when it dissolves and passes out of its separateness, all its elements lost in the water of the sea, irrecoverable but contributing their small part to its totality. The idea is attractive to men precisely in the degree of their depreciation of the worth of personality. My two friends had nothing but scorn for any suggestion that a human personality could ever have sufficient value to the universe to be preserved as such. They insisted that the highest ambition of any human should be to find his place at last in the Whole from which he came, himself lost, the Whole alone remaining. The discussion showed the wide divergence between Christianity and some other faiths at just this point of human values. If man has no individual worth for the universe, it is no wonder that multitudes of men are beneath the regard of their fellows. For Buddhism personality is " but a momentary wave upon the ocean

of eternal oneness." But because Christianity begins with a personal God and with humanity made in His image, it contributes to the world a new estimate of the worth of personality.

One of the daughters of the great Indian Sorabji family, an honour to womanhood and her nation, has described an Indian wife under the existing and earlier régime in terms that indicate the lower scale of personal valuation which prevails:

> Chief priestess of her husband, whom to serve is her religion and her delight . . . moving on a plane far below him for all purposes religious, mental and social; gentle and adoring, but incapable of participation in the larger interest of his life. . . . To please his mother, whose chief handmaiden she is, and to bring him a son, these are her two ambitions. . . . The whole idea of marriage in the East revolves simply on the conception of life; a community of interests, companionship, these never enter into the general calculation. She waits upon her husband when he feeds, silent in his presence with downcast eyes. To look him in the face were bold indeed.[12]

Over against that picture by an Indian woman, I set the memory of a family dinner in the home of an Indian Christian pastor, his wife presiding, the daughters taking part with the sons, the talk moving on familiar but high levels, companionship an obvious commonplace, the community of interest taken for granted. The scenes are poles apart. Whoever likes one will not like the other. But the difference between them is at heart a difference in human estimates.

That is also the trouble with the entire caste system. This description of some masses of men, again in India,

[12] Cornelia Sorabji, *Between the Twilights*, pp. 125-132; quoted in Katherine Mayo, *Mother India*, p. 77.

is not a careless one. It came out of months of observation:

Regarded as sub-human, the tasks held basest are reserved for them; dishonour is associated with their name. Some are permitted only to serve as scavengers and removers of night soil; some, through the ignorance to which they are condemned, are loathsome in their habits; and to all of them the privilege of any sort of teaching is sternly denied. They may neither possess nor read the Hindu Scriptures. No Brahman priest will minister to them; and, except in rare instances, they may not enter a Hindu temple to worship or pray. Their children may not come to the public schools. They may not draw water from the public wells. They may not enter a court of justice; they may not enter a dispensary to get help for their sick; they may stop at no inn.[13]

If anyone says that similar conditions exist in Western lands, he must go on to say that anything approaching them is a violation of the Christian faith, there or here. No personalities deserve any such treatment nor will receive it except in disregard of Christ.

b. The Christian law of love as the way of life gives a new outlook on living. R. H. W. Shepherd, writing a book for the British Student Movement from "surroundings of darkest heathenism" in Africa, quotes the dying words of Albert, Earl Grey:

It's Christ's way. We've got to give up quarrelling. We've got to come together. We've got to realize that we are all members of one family. There's nothing that can help the race, I'm perfectly sure there isn't—perfectly sure—except love. Love is the way out and the way up.[14]

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[13] Katherine Mayo, *Mother India,* Ch. XI—"Less than Men."
[14] Shepherd, *The Humanism of Jesus,* p. 176.

A young missionary, writing in the midst of disturbed conditions, phrases it in similar terms:

One's conviction grows that there is no other way, that there is no possible way, to conduct the affairs of men, but Christ's way. Education will not do it; it can supply some knowledge, but no sufficient incentive. There are too many examples here of able men unable to be good. Material prosperity will not do it. God grant that we can here be agents of the Spirit in completing the work which He has been so long about.[15]

Meanwhile a missionary in Persia explains the slow progress of work among Moslems by the lack of love in the Christian program:

If the principle of love that is embodied in the teachings of Christ were believed and practiced by Christians, the Moslem world would rub its eyes in amazement and would seek the spiritual source of such sublime faith. Christ believed and taught and based His entire career on a conviction that love, without the aid of arms, or armies, or blockades, or poison gas—love alone could conquer. He seemed to believe that love was actually more powerful, more effective, and ultimately more surely victorious than any physical force.[16]

One can be much too sanguine about the immediate result of any adoption of a truly Christian program. The world did not leap to welcome Christ Himself, practicing His program unhesitatingly. There is no valid reason for supposing it would do so now. But that is no excuse for omitting the central element from the program of national relationships. It is the way

[15] In a private letter unpublished.

[16] *The Atlantic Monthly*, November, 1926, pp. 706-710. This article should be supplemented by reading Dr. S. M. Zwemer's *The Law of Apostasy in Islam*, in which a deeper explanation of the slow progress of missions among Moslems is suggested.

out of international complications, social strife, personal depression. It is a new way of life.

c. The gift of joy in place of pessimism is a contribution to the world's way of living. As we have noted, Lord Ronaldshay finds one root of pessimism in India in its religious thinking. The world becomes a scene to be opposed and forsaken as soon and as far as possible. Life is misery because it holds no hope. What Schopenhauer reached by paths of philosophy, many peoples reach by way of experience and of religion. But the Christian idea stands squarely across all such paths. Where some faiths offer redemption from life, the Christian faith offers the redemption of life. Where some faiths propose escape from the world, Christianity offers the glorifying of the world as the scene of the Father's love. Sometimes we are told of the love of nature among savage peoples, but those who live among them seldom agree that they hold this love. Even peoples who are far from savage seldom take toward the world around them anything of the attitude which Jesus so plainly took during His earthly life. Finding in a lily and a flying bird and a field of grain the evidence of a loving heavenly Father and learning lessons of trust and peace from it are achievements of religion beyond most faiths. A missionary friend in Siam spoke of the interest of his hearers in this phase of the life of Christ; "He seemed at home in the world," one of them said. It has been difficult for His followers to be true to this attitude and to take it constantly and earnestly, but when they think of it they know that nothing else can be His way.

The joy of His outlook is a new fact to most men. The future is an overshadowed possibility to them; He makes it a glorious anticipation. When Professor

Pratt explained to a young Hindu the Christian idea of the future, the Indian replied that of course anybody would be drawn to that kind of a future, but how could so good a thing be proved? It was beyond his imagination.

This same outlook on the world changes one's thought of the things that are in it. In many non-Christian lands the theory of the value of animal life is higher than that which prevails in Christian lands. In Indian legislative bodies, proposals of British officials are often opposed by native leaders as contrary to their theories. It was proposed that veterinarians be allowed to put an animal out of its misery when it is fatally injured or obviously dying. One Indian statesman replied that it would be quite as proper to put a man out of his misery, because animals have souls as truly as men. Another said:

All the trouble arises from having two conflicting ideas of mercy. The framers of this bill think that shooting an animal that is diseased and could not be cured is much better. We on the other hand think that God Himself has ordained what is to come about.[17]

Such a theory might be expected to work out into a kind of heaven on earth for animals. Actually, Mr. Gandhi warns India that if there is a moral government of the world, India will need to meet it for its cruelty to the very animals it most prizes. In his paper he said:

In a land where the cow is an object of worship, there should be no cattle problem at all. But our cow-worship has resolved itself into an ignorant fanaticism. The fact that we have more cattle than we can support is a matter for urgent treatment. I have already sug-

[17] A full account of this debate is given in Katherine Mayo, *Mother India,* Chs. XVIII, XIX.

gested the taking over of the matter by cow-protection societies.[18]

Nowhere are animals as such so well safeguarded as under the Christian religion, which holds them in utterly secondary regard as merely sentient beings. Legislation and public opinion safeguard them wherever Christ has taught men to find proof of the Father in nature. This is part of Christ's outlook on life.

4. But of course all this moves on the outer edge of the facts. Each of these things is incidental to the main contribution of the missionary enterprise to the world. When it brings the Christian faith, when it brings Christ Himself, it brings new life with all that this means. The gift of salvation, from sin and selfishness and fear, is its great gift. It is easy to tell men what they ought to do; indeed, it is hardly necessary to tell them, for they already know far beyond anything they do or feel they can do. As the young missionary said: " They are able men unable to be good." Every earnest man feels the chill of the chasm between his ideals and his achievements. The pathetic figures which one sees as " holy men " make the entire argument. They provoke no ridicule but only a deep sympathy. Many of them mean it with such deadly seriousness; they give their lives to it so earnestly—and so mistakenly, if Jesus is right about what holiness must mean. It cannot mean what one sees in the temple of Kali in Calcutta or by the river at Benares or in the mountain refuges in Japan. But the yearning for it, the desire to be " saved," the longing for peace, is only checked, not destroyed, in the new hurrying life of the world.

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[18] *Young India,* February 26, 1925.

Dr. Paul Harrison found much to interest him, much to admire, in the Moslem services which he attended in the district of Oman in Arabia, but he did not find it lessening the " aching desire " to give the people Jesus Christ.

The splendid Arabs of the district of Oman, like every other splendid people in the world, are not delivered from the power of sin and selfishness by any services, however beautiful and moving, nor by anything except the power of Christ.[19]

The trouble with Latin America is its diversion from Christ Himself to other means of rectifying evils, many of which come to their clear light only in the light of Christ and are lost from mind when He is hid. The address written and issued by Chinese leaders in the Shanghai National Christian Conference of 1922 contained these striking words:

Listen! People of China! What China needs is really Jesus Christ. With Him all her problems can be solved. Without Him all other methods and plans are of secondary value, for they do not touch the root trouble.[20]

This followed a statement of the many proposals for reform in China in all of which the Christians were eager to help. The statement goes on to say that it is not the forms, customs, rites of Western churches nor even all their teachings that China needs, but Christ the Revealer of God, the Saviour of men, the Lord of men, the Example of men, God incarnate, the best Friend of man, who regenerates, gives new strength, increases man's zeal in service of others, produces cour-

[19] *Missionary Review of the World,* June, 1827, p. 422.
[20] *Report of National Christian Conference,* p. 510.

age to oppose sin, leads men to communion with God, makes men eager to spread the good news, strengthens men's hopes. Each of these points is made the subject of a paragraph in which the truth is applied to China. After all, what else does any land need? What else is worth giving to other lands by lands that know Christ?

The gift of the missionary enterprise to the world is whatever Christ means, His birth, His life, His death, His teachings, His resurrection, His present living and presence among men. A world-recognized missions leader phrased it recently in these terms:

> So long as men believe that Jesus Christ is the ultimate, the final authority, the last word as well as the first word, the Alpha and Omega, that after Him there is nothing more to be said, the missionary enterprise rests on a rock.[21]

It is well, even so, to remind ourselves of the Scripture word which speaks of the fact that God, who spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all, would surely not fail to give us freely all things in Him (Rom. 8:32). That is true of the missionary enterprise. When it gives Christ to the world, there is nothing which it is not ready to give with Him, all social corrections, all educational service, all political inspiration, all physical and medical aids—anything that the religion of Christ has produced or maintained is the glad gift of the missionary enterprise in His name.

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[21] *Foreign Missions Conference of North America,* 1926, pp. 115-124.

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